THE SACRED *and* PROPHANE HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED,

From the CREATION of the WORLD to the Diſſolution of the *Aſſyrian* Empire at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, and to the Declenſion of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, under the Reigns of *Ahaz* and *Pekah*.

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MDCCXXX.

To the Right HONOURABLE

CHARLES

Lord Viſcount TOWNSHEND,

Baron of Lynn-Regis, *Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, one of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State,* &c.

My LORD,

YOUR Lordſhip's Condeſcenſion, in permitting me to beg your Patronage of what I now offer to the World, will not be ſurprizing to

thoſe, who have the Honour to know Your Lordſhip; for they agree in teſtifying Your favourable Inclination to countenance and protect any Clergyman, who endeavours to apply himſelf to Studies ſuitable to his Profeſſion.

The Deſign of my Attempt is to vindicate the Truth of *revealed* Religion, as far as the Hiſtory of the Times I treat of gives me Opportunity. It is ſuggeſted by ſome Writers, that there are Queſtions to be made "about "the *Antiquity*, *Authority*, *Inſpi-* "*ration*, and *Perfection* of the "Books both of the Old and "New Teſtament, and about the *Morality*,

" *Morality, religious Doctrines,*
" and other *Notions* contained in
" them; about the Harmony
" of the Parts of thoſe Books to
" one another, and their *Contra-*
" *diction* to prophane Hiſtory,
" and about the Miracles report-
" ed in them." I have brought down the Inquiry from the Beginning; I have examined [I hope] with the greateſt Freedom, and if even my imperfect Endeavours ſhould evidence, as far as I have gone, that there is nothing unreaſonable or contradictory in the Scriptures, what might be done upon this Subject, if ſome great Hand would treat it, and compoſe a Work worthy

worthy of Your Lordſhip's Acceptance and Protection?

The Licentiouſneſs of ſome modern Writers would bring a laſting Reproach upon the preſent Age, if their Sentiments could go down to Poſterity with any Marks of public Approbation. But as it is one part of our preſent Happineſs, ſo we cannot but conſider with Pleaſure, that, however fond ſome are of objecting againſt all *Revealed* Religion, or of repreſenting our *Legal* Eſtabliſhment of the *Chriſtian* to be an *Incroachment* upon their *Natural Rights* and *Civil Liberties*; yet, when the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, which have been happily

happily diſtinguiſhed by Your Lordſhip's conducting the public Counſels, ſhall be read hereafter, it will appear, that the truly great Perſons, who did moſt for the public Happineſs and Liberties of Mankind, were the trueſt Patrons of the Univerſities, the Church, and Clergy, and that, in the beſt manner; by being as averſe to all Thoughts of Perſecution in defence of even true Religion, as they were willing to favour thoſe, who by proper Arguments, and a juſt Behaviour and Diſpoſition were induſtrious to recommend it to the World.

I am ſenſible that my Ambition of Your Lordſhip's Favour

vour may be a Diſadvantage to my Performance, by creating Expectations, which nothing of mine can poſſibly anſwer: But, as I flatter my ſelf, that a good Intention will appear thro' the whole; ſo, I hope, the prefixing Your Lordſhip's Name will remind the ſeverer Readers, how diſpoſed the truly Great are to favour a well-meant Deſign, tho' it be not executed by an Hand able to carry it thro' in a manner liable to no Exceptions.

I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

and moſt Humble Servant,

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD.

THE PREFACE.

THIS Second Volume, which I now offer to the Publick, carries down the Hiſtory of the World to the *Exit* of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. The Method I have kept to is the ſame as in the former Volume; and I have in this, as in the other, interſperſed, as I go along, ſeveral Digreſſions upon ſuch Subjects, as either the Scripture Accounts, or the Hints we meet with in Prophane Authors concerning the Times I treat of, ſuggeſted to me.

Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Chronology was not publiſhed, until after I had finiſhed both my former Volume, and the Preface to it; but as his Sentiments upon the ancient Chronology have been ſince that time offered to the World, it will become me to endeavour to give ſome Reaſons for my having formerly, and for my ſtill continuing to differ from him. I am not yet come down to the Times where he begins his Chronology, and for that Reaſon, it would be an improper, as well as a very troubleſome Anticipation, to enter into Particulars, which

I ſhall be able to ſet in a much clearer Light, when I ſhall give the Hiſtory of the Times which he has ſuppoſed them to belong to. But ſince there are in Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Work ſeveral Arguments of a more extenſive Influence, than to be confined to any one particular *Epoch*, and which are, in Truth, the main Foundation of his whole *Scheme*, and do affect the whole Body of the ancient Chronology, I ſhall endeavour to conſider them here, that the Reader may judge, whether I have already, as well as whether I ſhall hereafter proceed rightly, in not being determined by them. The firſt of them which I ſhall mention, is the *Aſtronomical* Argument for fixing the Time of the *Argonautic* Expedition, formed from the Conſtellations of *Chiron*. This ſeems to be Demonſtration, and to prove inconteſtably, that the ancient *Prophane* Hiſtory is generally carried about 300 Years higher backward than the Truth: The full Force of this Argument is clearly expreſſed in *the ſhort Chronicle* (*a*) as follows.

I. "*Chiron* formed the Conſtellations for the "Uſe of the *Argonauts*, and placed the *Solſti-*"*tial* and *Equinoctial* Points in the fifteenth De-"grees or Middles of the Conſtellations of "*Cancer*, *Chelæ*, *Capricorn*, and *Aries*. *Meton*, "in the Year of *Nabonaſſar* 316, obſerved the "Summer *Solſtice* in the eighth Degree of "*Cancer*, and therefore the *Solſtice* had then "gone back ſeven Degrees. It goes back one "Degree in about 72 Years, and ſeven De-"grees in about 504 Years: Count theſe Years "back from the Year of *Nabonaſſar* 316, and

(*a*) *See* Short Chronicle, p. 25. *The Argument is offer'd at large in* Chronology of the *Greeks*, p. 83.

"they

"they will place the *Argonautic* Expedition "936 Years before Chriſt." The *Greeks* [ſays our great and learned Author (*c*)] placed it 300 Years earlier. The Reader will eaſily ſee the whole Force of this Argument. *Meton*, *Anno Nabonaſſ.* 316, found that the *Solſtices* were in the 8th Degrees of the Conſtellations: *Chiron*, at the time of the *Argonautic* Expedition, placed them in the fifteenth Degrees: The *Solſtice* goes back ſeven Degrees in 504 Years; from whence it follows, that the Time when *Chiron* placed the *Solſtices* in the fifteenth Degrees was 504 Years before *Anno Nabonaſſ.* 316, when *Meton* found that they were in the eighth Degrees.

The Fallacy of this Argument cannot but appear very evident to any one that attends to it; for ſuppoſe we allow that *Chiron* did really place the *Solſtices* as Sir *Iſaac Newton* repreſents, (tho' I think it moſt probable that he did not ſo place them) yet it muſt be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly eſtabliſhed from *Chiron*'s Poſition of them, unleſs it appears that *Chiron* knew how to give them their true Place. It was eaſy for ſo great a Maſter of *Aſtronomy* as Sir *Iſaac Newton*, to calculate where the *Solſtices* ought to be placed in the Year of our Lord 1689 (*d*), and to know how many Years have paſſed ſince they were in the fifteenth Degrees of the Conſtellations; but tho' we ſhould allow, that *Chiron* imagined them, in his Time, to be in this Poſition, yet, if he really was miſtaken in his Imagination, no Argument can be formed from *Chiron*'s Poſition of them; for ſuppoſing the true Place of the *Solſtices*, in the

(*c*) Chronology of the *Greeks*, p. 94. (*d*) Ibid. p. 86.

Days of *Chiron*, to be in the nineteenth Degrees of the Conſtellations, it will be evident, from what was the true Place of them in the Year of our Lord 1689, as well as from what was the Place of them *Anno Nabonaſſ.* 316, that the Time of *Chiron*'s making his Scheme of the Heavens was about 300 Years earlier than our great and learned Author ſuppoſes, tho' *Chiron* erroneouſly placed the *Solſtices* at that Time in the 15th Degrees of the Conſtellations, inſtead of the 19th; and whether *Chiron* might not miſtake four or five Degrees this way or that way, we may judge from what follows.

Chiron's Skill in Aſtronomy was ſo imperfect, that we cannot imagine he could find the true Place of the *Solſtices* with any tolerable Exactneſs. The *Egyptians* were the firſt that found out, that the Year conſiſted of more than 360 Days. *Strabo* informs (*e*) us, that the *Theban* Prieſts were the moſt eminent Philoſophers and Aſtronomers, and that they numbered the Days of the Year, not by the Courſe of the Moon, but by that of the Sun; and that to twelve Months, conſiſting each of thirty Days, they added five Days every Year. *Herodotus* teſtifies the ſame Thing (*f*). "The *Egyptians* (ſays "he) were the firſt that found out the Length "of the Year." And he tells us particularly what they determined to be the true Length of it, namely, "twelve Months of thirty Days "each, and five Days added beſides them." *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, "The *Thebans*, (*i. e.* the "Prieſts of *Thebes* in *Egypt*) were the firſt that

(*e*) Strabo, Geogr. Lib. 17. p. 816. (*f*) Herodot. Lib. 2. cap. 4.

"brought

"brought Philoſophy and Aſtrology to an Ex-
"actneſs;" and he adds, "They determined
"the Year to conſiſt of twelve Months, each
"of thirty Days; and added five Days to
"twelve ſuch Months, as being the full Mea-
"ſure of the Sun's Annual Revolution (*g*)."
And thus, until the *Egyptians* found out the Miſtake, all Aſtronomers were in a very great Error, imagining the Sun's Annual Motion to be performed in 360 Days.

It may perhaps be here ſaid, that the *Egyptians* had improved their Aſtronomy before *Chiron*'s Days, and that *Chiron* may be ſuppoſed to have been inſtructed by them, and ſo to have been a pretty good Aſtronomer. To this I anſwer.

If the *Egyptians* had improved their Aſtronomy before *Chiron*'s Time, yet the *Greeks* were ignorant of this Meaſure of the Year, until *Thales* went to *Egypt*, and converſed with the Prieſts of that Nation: *Thales*, ſays *Laertius* (*h*), was the firſt who corrected the *Greek* Year. And this Opinion of *Laertius* is confirmed by *Herodotus*, who repreſents *Solon*, a Cotemporary of *Thales*, in his Conference with *Cræſus* very remarkably miſtaking the true Meaſure of the Year. *Thales* had found out, that the Year conſiſted of 365 Days; but the exact Particulars of what he had learned in this Point, were not immediately known all over *Greece*, and ſo *Solon* repreſents to *Cræſus* that the Year conſiſted of 375 Days; for he repreſents it as neceſſa-

(*g*) Diodor. Sic. Hiſt. Lib. 1. p. 32. Diodorus *indeed mentions the* τέταρτον, *or ſix Hours, which were added afterwards; but theſe were not accounted to belong to the Year ſo early as the five Days.* (*h*) Laert. in vitâ Thaletis.

ry to add a whole Month, *i. e.* thirty Days, every other Year, to adjuſt the Year then in uſe to its true Meaſure (*i*): The Notion therefore of the received computed Year's being too ſhort, was new in *Solon*'s Time: He was apprized that it was ſo; but what *Thales* brought from *Egypt* upon the Subject, was not yet generally known or underſtood, and ſo *Solon* made Miſtakes in his Gueſſes about it. *Thales*, according to the vulgar Account, lived above 600 Years after *Chiron*, and above 300 Years after him according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*; and therefore *Chiron* was entirely ignorant of all this Improvement in Aſtronomy. *Chiron* imagined 360 Days to be a Year, and if he knew no better how to eſtimate the Sun's Annual Motion, his σχήματα ὁλύμπια, his Draughts of the Conſtellations, muſt be very inaccurate; he could never place the *Solſtices* with any tolerable Exactneſs, but might eaſily err four or five Degrees in his Poſition of them; and if We had before us the beſt *Scheme* that He could draw, I dare ſay, we ſhould be able to demonſtrate nothing from it, but the great Imperfection of the ancient Aſtronomy. "If indeed it could "be known what was the true Place of the "*Solſtitial* Points in *Chiron*'s Time, it might be "known, by taking the Diſtance of that Place "from the preſent Poſition of them, how much "Time has elapſed from *Chiron* to our Days:" But I anſwer, It cannot be accurately known from any *Schemes* of *Chiron*'s, what was the true Place of the *Solſtices* in his Days; becauſe, tho' it is ſaid, that he calculated the then Poſition of them, yet he was ſo inaccurate an Aſtrono-

(*i*) Herodot. l. 1. c. 32.

mer,

mer, that his Calculation might err four or five Degrees, from their true Poſition.

Our great and learned Author mentions *Thales* and *Meton*, as if the Obſervations of both theſe Aſtronomers might confirm his *Hypotheſis*. He ſays, "*Thales* wrote a Book of the *Tropics* "and *Equinoxes*, and predicted the *Eclipſes*. "And *Pliny* tells us, that he determined the "*Occaſus matutinus* of the *Pleiades* to be upon "the 25th Day after the *Autumnal Equinox*." And from hence he argues, 1. That the *Solſtices* were in *Thales*'s Days in the middle of the eleventh Degrees of the Signs. 2. That the *Equinoxes* had therefore moved backwards from their Place in *Chiron*'s Time, to this their Poſition in *Thales*'s Days, as much as anſwers to 320 Years; and therefore, 3. That *Chiron* made his *Scheme*, and conſequently the *Argonautic* Expedition was undertaken not more than ſo many Years before the Days of *Thales*. But here it cannot but be remarked, That the chief Force of this Argument depends upon *Chiron*'s having rightly placed the *Solſtices* in his Times, ſo that what has been ſaid of *Chiron*'s Inaccuracy muſt fully anſwer it. If *Chiron* erred in placing the *Solſtices*; if their true Place in his Time might be in the nineteenth or twentieth Degrees, and not (as he is ſaid to ſuppoſe) in the fifteenth, then however true it be, that they were in the eleventh Degrees in *Thales*'s Time, yet it will not follow that *Chiron* lived but 320 Years before *Thales*. If *Chiron* could have been exact, there had been a Foundation for the Argument; but if *Chiron* was miſtaken, nothing but Miſtake can be built upon his uncorrected Computation. But if *Chiron* was not concerned in this Argument; if it depended ſolely upon

on the Skill of *Thales*, I ſhould ſtill ſuſpect that there might be, tho' not ſo much, yet ſome Error in it: *Thales*, tho' a famous Aſtronomer for the Age he liv'd in, yet was not skillful enough to determine with a true Exactneſs the Time of the ſetting of the *Pleiades*, or to fix accurately the *Autumnal Equinox*, and therefore no great Streſs could have been laid upon any Gueſſes which He might have been reported to make in theſe Matters.

Thales, as I before hinted, was the firſt of the *Græcians* who learned that the Year conſiſted of more than three hundred ſixty Days; but tho' he had learned this, yet he was ignorant of another material Point, namely, that it conſiſted of almoſt ſix Hours over and above the five additional Days before mention'd. When the *Egyptians* firſt found this out is uncertain, but their Diſcovery of it was not ſo early as the Time of their coming to the Knowledge of the other Point, as is evident from the Fable in which their *Mythologic* Writers dreſſed up the Doctrine of the Year's conſiſting of three hundred ſixty five Days *(n)*; for according to that Fable, five Days were the exact ſeventy ſecond Part of the whole Year, and five is ſo of three hundred ſixty, and therefore, when the five Days were firſt added, the Year was thought to conſiſt of three hundred ſixty five Days only: It is hard to ſay when the *Egyptians* made this further Improvement of their *Aſtronomy*; but whenever they did, it is certain that *Thales* knew nothing of it, for Sir *John Marſham* rightly obſerves, that *Herodotus* takes no Notice of the quarter Part of a Day, which ſhould

(n) See the Fable, Note in Pref. to Vol. I. p. 19.

be

be added to the Year over and above the five additional Days, and adds (*o*), that *Eudoxus* firſt learned from the *Egyptian* Prieſts, that ſuch farther Addition ought to be made to the Meaſure of the Year, and he cites *Strabo*'s expreſs Words to confirm his Obſervation (*p*); now *Eudoxus* liv'd about three hundred Years after *Thales*, and therefore *Thales* was intirely ignorant, both of this, and according to *Strabo* of many other very material Points in *Aſtronomy*, which *Eudoxus* learned in *Egypt*.

Thales is indeed ſaid to have foretold an *Eclipſe*, *i. e.* I ſuppoſe he was able to foreſee that there would be one, not that he could calculate exactly the Time when; perhaps he might gueſs within two or three Weeks, and perhaps he might err twice the Number, and yet be thought in his Age a very great Aſtronomer. Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſays, that he wrote a Book of the *Tropics* and *Equinoxes*; undoubtedly it was a very ſorry one: I cannot apprehend, that *Thales* could ſettle the *Equinoxes* with ſo much Exactneſs, as that any great ſtreſs could have been laid even upon his Account of the *Pleiades* ſetting 25 Days after the Autumnal *Equinox*: He might, or might not happen to err a Day or two about the Time of the *Equinox*, and as much about the ſetting of the *Pleiades*.

Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, that *Meton*, in order to publiſh his *Lunar* Cycle of nineteen Years, obſerved the Summer *Solſtice* in the Year

(*o*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 236. (*p*) Strabo *ſays, that* Eudoxus *and* Plato *learned from the* Egyptian *Prieſts,* τὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῇ νυκτὸς μόρια τῇ τριακοσίαις ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐναυσίου χρόνου, *And he adds,* ἀλλ' ἠγνοεῖτο τέως ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. Strabo. Geogr. l. 17. p. 806.

of

of *Nabonaſſar* 316, and *Columella* (he ſays) tells us, that he placed it in the 8th Degree of *Cancer*, from whence he argues, that the *Solſtice* had gone back from *Chiron*'s Days to *Meton*'s at leaſt ſeven Degrees, and therefore *Meton* was but 504 Years after *Chiron* (*q*): But here again the Argument depends upon *Chiron*'s having accurately ſettled the *Equinoxes* in his Time, and therefore the Anſwer I have before given will be here ſufficient: As to *Meton*; From this Account of his ſettling the *Equinoxes*, and from Dean *Prideaux*'s of his nineteen Years Cycle (*r*), it would ſeem probable that he was a very exact Aſtronomer: But I muſt confeſs, there appear to me to be conſiderable Reaſons againſt admitting this Opinion of him; for how could *Meton* be ſo exact an *Aſtronomer*, when *Hipparchus*, who liv'd almoſt 300 Years after *Meton* (*t*), was the firſt who found out, that the *Equinox* had a Motion backwards, and even he was ſo far from being accurate, that he miſcounted 28 Years in 100, in calculating that Motion (*u*)? *Meton* might not be ſo exact an Aſtronomer as he is repreſented. The *Cycle* that goes under his Name might be firſt projected by him, but he perhaps did not give it that Perfection which it afterwards received. *Columella* lived in the Times of the Emperor *Claudius*, and he might eaſily aſcribe more to *Meton* than belonged to him, living ſo many Ages after him. Later Authors perfected *Meton*'s rude Draughts of Aſtronomy, and *Columella* might imagine the Corrections made in his Originals by later Hands to be *Meton*'s. We now call the nineteen Years

(*q*) *Chronology of the* Greeks, p. 93. (*r*) Prideaux *Connect.* Vol. II. B. 6. (*t*) Newton's *Chronology*, p. 94. (*u*) *Id. Ibid.*

Cycle

Cycle by his Name; but I cannot imagine that any more of it belongs to him, than an original Deſign of ſomething like it, which the Aſtronomers of After-Ages added to and compleated by degrees.

Before I leave the Aſtronomical Argument of our truly great Author, I would add the very celebrated Dr. *Halley*'s Account of the Aſtronomy of the Ancients; which he communicated ſome Years ago to the Author of *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*. His Words are (*w*),

" As for the *Aſtronomy* of the Ancients, this " is uſually reckon'd for one of thoſe Sciences " wherein conſiſted the Learning of the *Egyp-* " *tians*, and *Strabo* expreſly declares, that there " were in *Babylonia* ſeveral Univerſities, where- " in Aſtronomy was chiefly profeſſed; and " *Pliny* tells us much the ſame Thing: So that " it might well be expected, that where ſuch a " Science was ſo much ſtudied, it ought to have " been proportionably cultivated. Notwith- " ſtanding all which, it does appear, that there " was nothing done by the *Chaldeans* older than " about CCCC Years before *Alexander*'s Con- " queſt, that could be ſerviceable either to " *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy* in their Determination " of the *Celeſtial* Motions; for had there been " any Obſervations older than thoſe we have, it " cannot be doubted but the victorious *Greeks* " muſt have procured them, as well as thoſe " they did, they being ſtill more valuable for " their Antiquity. All we have of them is " only ſeven *Eclipſes* of the Moon preſerved in

(*w*) *See* Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, Chap. 24. p. 320.

Ptolomy's

" *Ptolomy*'s *Syntaxis*, and even thoſe but very " coarſely ſet down, and the oldeſt not much " above DCC Years before *Chriſt*; ſo that af- " ter all the Fame of theſe *Chaldeans*, We " may be ſure that they had not gone far in " this Science: And tho' *Calliſthenes* be ſaid " by *Porphyry* to have brought from *Babylon* " to *Greece*, Obſervations above MDCCCC " Years older than *Alexander*, yet the proper " Authors making no mention or uſe of any " ſuch renders it juſtly ſuſpected for a Fable " (*a*). What the *Egyptians* did in this Matter " is leſs evident, no one Obſervation made by " them being to be found in their Countryman " *Ptolomy*, excepting what was done by the " *Greeks* of *Alexandria* under CCC Years be- " fore *Chriſt*; ſo that whatever was the Learning " of theſe two ancient Nations, as to the Mo- " tions of the Stars, it ſeems to have been " chiefly *Theoretical*; and I will not deny, but " ſome of them might very long ſince be ap- " prized of the Sun's being the Centre of our " *Syſtem*, for ſuch was the Doctrine of *Pytha-* " *goras* and *Philolaus*, and ſome others, who " were ſaid to have travelled into theſe Parts.

" From hence it may appear, that the *Greeks* " were the firſt *practical* Aſtronomers, who en- " deavoured in earneſt to make themſelves " Maſters of the Science, and to whom we owe " all the old Obſervations of the *Planets*, and " of the *Equinoxes* and *Tropics*: *Thales* was the " firſt that could predict an *Eclipſe* in *Greece* " not DC Years before *Chriſt*, and without " doubt it was but a rude Account he had of

(*a*) Calliſthenes's *Account may not be a Fable: The ſubſequent Authors neither mention'd nor uſed theſe Obſervations, becauſe they were in Truth ſuch ſorry ones, that no Uſe could be made of them.*

" the

" the Motions; and 'twas *Hipparchus* who made " the firſt Catalogue of the fix'd Stars not " above CL Years before *Chriſt*; without which " Catalogue there could be ſcarce ſuch a Sci- " ence as *Aſtronomy*; and it is to the Subtilty " and Diligence of that great Author, that the " World was beholden for all its Aſtronomy " for above MD Years. All that *Ptolomy* did " in his *Syntaxis*, was no more but a bare " Tranſcription of the Theories of *Hipparchus*, " with ſome little Emendation of the *Periodi-* " *cal* Motions, after about CCC Year's Inter- " val; and this Book of *Ptolomy*'s was, with- " out Diſpute, the utmoſt Perfection of the " ancient Aſtronomy, nor was there any thing " in any Nation before it comparable there- " to; for which Reaſon, all the other Authors " thereof were diſregarded and loſt, and among " them *Hipparchus* himſelf. Nor did Poſte- " rity dare to alter the *Theories* delivered by " *Ptolomy*, though ſucceſſively *Albategnius* and " the *Arabs*, and after them the *Spaniſh* Aſtro- " nomers under *Alphonſus* endeavoured to mend " the Errors they obſerved in their Computa- " tions. But their Labours were fruitleſs, " whilſt from the Defects of their Principles " it was impoſſible to reconcile the Moon's " Motion within a Degree, nor the Planets " *Mars* and *Mercury*, to a much greater Space."

Thus we ſee the Opinion of this learned and judicious Aſtronomer. He very juſtly ſays, that *Thales* could give but a rude Account of the Motions, and that before *Hipparchus* there could be ſcarce ſuch a Science as Aſtronomy; moſt certainly therefore no ſuch a nice Argumentation as our great Author offers, can be well grounded, upon (as he himſelf calls them the

the *coarſe*) I might ſay, the *conjectural* and *unaccountable Aſtronomy* of the Antients.

II. Another Argument which Sir *Iſaac Newton* offers, in order to ſhew, that the ancient prophane Hiſtory is carried up higher than it ought to be, is taken from the Lengths of the Reigns of the ancient Kings. He remarks, that (*b*) "the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Latines*, "reckon'd the Reigns of Kings equipollent "to Generations of Men, and three Genera-"tions to an hundred Years, and accordingly "they made their Kings reign one with ano-"ther thirty and three Years apiece and a-"bove." He would have theſe Reckonings reduced *to the Courſe of Nature*, and the Reigns of the ancient Kings put one with another at about eighteen or twenty Years apiece (*bb*), and this, he repreſents, would correct the Error of carrying the prophane Hiſtory too far backward, and would fix the ſeveral *Epochs* of it more agreeable to true Chronology.

In Anſwer to this I would obſerve, 1. The Word [γενεὰ] Generation, may either ſignify a Deſcent; thus *Jacob* was two Generations after *Abraham*, *i. e.* he was his Grandſon: or it may ſignify an Age, *i. e.* the ſpace of Time in which all thoſe who are of the ſame Deſcent, may be ſuppos'd to finiſh their Lives. Thus we read that *Joſeph died and all his Brethren, and all that Generation* (*c*): In this Senſe the Generation did not end at *Joſeph*'s Death, nor at the Death of the youngeſt of his Brethren, nor until all the Perſons who were in

(*b*) Newton's *Chronology*, p. 51. (*bb*) p. 55. (*c*) Exodus i. 6.

the

the ſame Line of Deſcent with them were gone off the Stage. A Generation in this latter Senſe, muſt be a much longer ſpace of Time, than a Generation in the former Senſe: *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim* the Sons of *Joſeph* were two Generations or Deſcents after *Jacob*, for they were his Grandchildren; and yet they were born in the ſame *Age* or Generation in which *Jacob* was born; for they were born before he died. But I confeſs the Word γενεὰ or Generation is more frequently uſed to ſignify a Deſcent: In this Senſe it is commonly found in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, in the prophane as well as in the ſacred Writers. But I muſt remark, 2. That Reigns and theſe Generations are equipollent, when the Son ſucceeds at his Father's Death to his Kingdom. Thus, if a Crown deſcends from Father to Son, for ſeven, or more, or not ſo many Succeſſions, it is evident that as many Succeſſions as there are, we may count ſo many either Reigns, or Deſcents, or Generations; a Reign and a Deſcent here are manifeſtly equipollent, for they are one and the ſame Thing. But, 3. when it has happened in a Catalogue of Kings, that ſometimes Sons ſucceeded their Fathers, at other times Brothers their Brothers, and ſometimes Perſons of different Families obtained the Crown, then the Reigns will not be found to be equipollent to the Generations; for in ſuch a Catalogue ſeveral of the Kings will have been of the ſame Deſcent with others of them, and ſo there will be not ſo many Deſcents as Reigns, and conſequently the Reigns are not one with another equipollent to the Generations: And this being the Caſe in almoſt all, if not in every *Series* of any Number of Kings that

that can be produced, it ought not to be ſaid that Reigns and Generations are in the general equipollent; for a number of Reigns will be generally ſpeaking, for the Reaſons abovementioned, much ſhorter than a like number of Generations or Deſcents. 4. When Deſcents or Generations proceed by the eldeſt Sons only, then the Generations ought to be computed to be one with another about as many Years each, as are at a *Medium* the Years of the Ages of the Fathers of ſuch Generations at the Births of their eldeſt Sons. And thus we find from the Birth of *Arphaxad* (*d*) to the Birth of *Terah* the Father of *Abraham* (*e*) are ſeven Generations, and 219 Years, which is 31 Years and above $\frac{1}{4}$ to a Generation: And the ſeven Fathers in theſe Generations had their reſpective Sons; one of them at about 35 Years of Age (*f*), one at 34 (*g*), one at 32 (*h*), three at 30 (*i*), and one at 29 (*k*). 5. When Deſcents or Generations proceed by the younger or youngeſt Sons, the length of ſuch Generations will be according to the Time of the Father's Life in which ſuch younger Sons are born, and alſo in proportion to what is the common Length or Standard of human Life in the Age which they are born in. When Men lived to about 200, and had Children after they were an hundred Years old, it is evident, that the younger Children might *ſupervive* their Parents near 100 Years: But now, when Men rarely live beyond 70 or 80

(*d*) Gen. xi. 11. (*e*) ver. 26. (*f*) Salah *was born when* Arphaxad *was* 35. ver. 12. (*g*) Peleg *was born when* Eber *was* 34. ver. 16. (*h*) Serug *was born when* Reu *was* 32. (*i*) Eber *was born when* Salah *was* 30. ver. 14. Reu *when* Peleg *was* 30. ver. 18. Nahor *when* Serug *was* 30. ver. 22. (*k*) Terah *was born when* Nahor *was* 29. ver. 24.

Years,

Years, a Son born in the lateſt Years of his Father's Life, cannot be ſuppoſed, in the common courſe of Things, to be alive near ſo long after his Father's Death, and conſequently Deſcents or Generations by the younger Sons muſt have been far longer in the Ages of the ancient *Longevity*, than they can now be: And therefore, 6. Since in the Genealogies of all Families, and in the Catalogues of Kings in all Kingdoms, the Deſcents and Succeſſions are found to proceed, not always by the eldeſt Sons, but thro' frequent Accidents many times by the younger Children, it is evident, that the difference there has been in the common length of human Life in the different Ages of the World, muſt have had a conſiderable Effect upon the length of both Reigns and Generations, both which muſt be longer or ſhorter in this or that Age in ſome meaſure, according to what is the common Standard of the length of Men's Lives in the Age they belong to. 7. Reigns, as has been ſaid, are in general not ſo long as Generations: But from hiſtorical Obſervations a Calculation may be formed at a *Medium*, how often one time with another ſuch Failures of Deſcent happen, as make the Difference, and the lengths of Reigns may be calculated in a Proportion to the Lengths of Generations according to it. Sir *Iſaac Newton* computes the Lengths of Reigns to be to the Lengths of Generations one with another as 18 or 20, to 33 or 34 (*l*). Theſe Particulars ought to be duly conſidered, in order to judge of our learned Author's Argument from the length of Reigns and Generations. For,

(*l*) *See* Newton's *Chronol. of the* Greeks, p. 53, 54.

1. The Catalogues of Kings, which our great and learned Author produces to confirm his Opinion, are all of later Date, ſome of them many Ages later than the Times of *David*. He ſays (*m*), the eighteen Kings of *Judah*, who ſucceeded *Solomon*, reigned one with another 22 Years a-piece. The fifteen Kings of *Iſrael* after *Solomon* reigned 17 ¼ Years a-piece. The eighteen Kings of *Babylon* from *Nabonaſſar* reigned 11 ⅔ Years a-piece. The ten Kings of *Perſia* from *Cyrus* reigned 21 Years a-piece. The ſixteen Succeſſors of *Alexander* the Great, and of his Brother and Son in *Syria*, reigned 15 ¼ Years a-piece. The eleven Kings of *Egypt* from *Ptolomæus Lagi* reigned 25 Years a-piece. The eight in *Macedonia* from *Caſſander* reigned 17 ¼ Years a-piece. The thirty Kings of *England* from *William* the Conqueror, reigned 21 ½ Years a-piece. The firſt 24 Kings of *France* from *Pharamond* reigned 19 Years a-piece. The next twenty four Kings of *France* from *Ludovicus Balbus* reigned 18 ¾ a-piece. The next fifteen from *Philip Valeſius* 21 Years a-piece, and all the ſixty three Kings of *France* one with another reigned 19 ½ Years a-piece. Theſe are the ſeveral Catalogues which our great and learned Author has produced: They are of various Dates down from *Solomon* to the preſent Times; but as none of them riſe ſo high as the Times of King *David*, all that can be proved from them is, that the Obſervation of *David*, who remarked that the length of human Life was in his Times reduced to what has ever ſince been the Standard of it (*n*), was exceedingly juſt; for from *Solomon*'s Time to the preſent

(*m*) Id. Ibid. (*n*) Pſalm xc. ver. 10.

Days

Days it appears, that the lengths of Kings Reigns in different Ages, and in different Countries, have been much the ſame, and therefore during this whole Period, the common length of human Life has been what it now is, and agreeable to what *David* ſtated it. But,

2. It cannot be inferred from theſe Reigns of Kings mentioned by Sir *Iſaac Newton*, that Kings did not reign one with another a much longer ſpace of Time in the Ages which I am concerned with, in which Men generally lived to a much greater Age, than in the Times out of which Sir *Iſaac Newton* has taken the Catalogue of Kings which he has produced. From *Abraham* down to almoſt *David*, Men liv'd, according to the Scripture Accounts of the lengths of their Lives, to I think, at a *Medium*, above 100 Years, exceeding that Term very much in the Times near *Abraham*, and ſeldom falling ſhort of it until within a Generation or two of *David:* But in *David*'s Time the length of human Life was at a *Medium* but ſeventy Years (*o*); now any one that conſiders this Difference, muſt ſee, that the lengths of Kings Reigns as well as of Generations, muſt be conſiderably affected by it. Succeſſions in both muſt come on ſlower in the early Ages, according to the greater length of Men's Lives. I am ſenſible I could produce many Catalogues of Succeſſions from Father to Son, to confirm what I have offered; but ſince there is one which takes in almoſt the whole Compaſs of the Times which I am concerned in, and which has all the Weight that the Authority of the ſacred Writers can give it, and which

(*o*) Ibid.

will bring the Point in queſtion to a clear and indiſputable Concluſion, I ſhall for Brevity's ſake omit all others, and offer only that to the Reader's farther Examination. From *Abraham* to *David* (including both *Abraham* and *David*) were fourteen Generations (*p*); now from *Abraham*'s Birth *A. M.* 2008, to *David*'s Death about *A. M.* 2986 (*q*) are 978 Years, ſo that Generations in theſe Times took up one with another near 70 Years a-piece, *i. e.* they were above double the length which Sir *Iſaac Newton* computes them; and which they were, I believe, after the Times of *David:* We muſt therefore ſuppoſe the Reigns of Kings in theſe ancient Times to be longer than his Computation in the ſame proportion, and if ſo, we muſt calculate them at above 40 Years a-piece one with another; and ſo the prophane Hiſtorians have recorded them to be; for according to the Liſts which we have from *Caſtor* (*r*) of the ancient Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos*, the firſt twelve Kings of *Sicyon* reigned more than 44 Years a-piece one with another, and the firſt eight Kings of *Argos* ſomething above 46, as our great Author has remarked (*s*), but the Reigns of the firſt twelve Kings of *Sicyon* extended from *A. M.* 1920 to *A. M.* 2450 (*t*); ſo that they began 88 Years before the Birth of *Abraham*, and ended in the Times of *Moſes*,

(*p*) Matt. i. (*q*) Uſher's *Annals. It may perhaps be thought that I ought not to compute theſe* 14 *Generations from the Birth of* Abraham, *but from the Death of* Terah *the Father of* Abraham, *who died when* Abraham *was* 75. *If we compute from hence, the* 14 *Generations take up but* 903 *Years, which allows but* 64 *Years and* $\frac{1}{2}$ *to a Generation, this is but almoſt double the length of Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Generations.* (*r*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*s*) Newton *Chron.* p. 51. (*t*) *See hereafter* B. VI.

and

and the Reigns of the firſt eight Kings of *Argos* began *A. M.* 2154 (*u*), and ended *A. M.* 2525; ſo that they reached from the latter End of *Abraham*'s Life, to a few Years after the *Exit* of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*; and let any one form a juſt Computation of the Length of Mens Lives in theſe Times, and it will in no wiſe appear unreaſonable to imagine, that the Reigns of Kings were of this Length in theſe Days. I might obſerve, That the ancient Accounts of the Kings of different Kingdoms in theſe Times agree to one another, as well as our great Author's more modern Catalogues. The twelve firſt Kings of *Aſſyria*, according to the Writers who have given us Accounts of them (*w*), reigned, one with another, about 40 Years a-piece. The firſt twelve Kings of the *Egyptian* Kingdoms, according to Sir *John Marſham*'s Tables, did not reign full ſo long; but it muſt be remembred, that in the firſt Times, the Kings of *Egypt* were frequently elected, and ſo, many times, Sons did not ſucceed their Fathers (*x*).

Our great and learned Author remarks (*y*), that the Seven Kings of *Rome* who preceded the Conſuls, reigned, one with another, thirty-five Years a-piece. I am ſenſible it may be obſerved, that (the Reigns of theſe Kings not falling within the Times I am to treat of) I am not concerned to vindicate the Accounts that are given of them; but I would not entirely omit mentioning them, becauſe the Lengths of their Reigns may be thought an undeniable Inſtance of the Inaccuracy of the ancient Com-

(*u*) *See Book* VI. (*w*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*x*) *See hereafter in Book* VI. p. 97. (*y*) Newton's Chronol. p. 51.

putations, more eſpecially becauſe theſe Kings were all more modern than the Times of *David*; for ſuppoſing *Rome* to be built by *Romulus*, *A. M.* 3256 (*z*), we muſt begin *Romulus*'s Reign almoſt 300 Years after the Death of *David*, and the Lives of Men in theſe Times being reduced to what has been eſteemed the common Standard ever ſince, it may perhaps be expected, that the Reigns of theſe Kings ſhould not be longer, one with another, than the Reigns of our Kings of *England*, from *William the Conqueror*; or of the Kings of *France*, from *Pharamond*; or of any other *Series* of Kings mentioned by our illuſtrious Author: But here I would obſerve, That theſe Seven Kings of *Rome* were not Deſcendants of one another. *Plutarch* remarks of theſe Kings, that not one of them left his Crown to his Son (*a*). Two of them, namely *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Superbus*, were indeed Deſcendants from the Sons of former Kings, but the other Five were of different Families: The Succeſſors of *Romulus* were elected to the Crown, and the *Roman* People did not confine their Choice even to their own Country, but choſe ſuch as were moſt likely to promote the publick Good (*b*). It is evident therefore, that the Lengths of theſe Kings Reigns ought not to be eſtimated according to the common Meaſure of Succeſſive Monarchs; for had theſe *Roman* Kings been very old Men when advanced to the Throne, their ſeveral Reigns would have been very ſhort; and the Reaſon why they are

(*z*) Uſher's Annals. (*a*) Τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄρα βασιλείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἑῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπε. Plut. de animi Tranquillitat. p. 467. (*b*) *See* Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. Livii Hiſt. Flor. Hiſt.

ſo

ſo much longer, than it may be thought they ought to be, may be, becauſe, as the Affairs of the Infant State of *Rome* required that the City ſhould be in the Hands of the moſt able Warriors, as well as skilful Counſellors, ſo they choſe to the Crown none but Perſons in their Prime of Life; as well to have a King of ſufficient Ability to lead their Armies, as that they might not have frequent Vacancies of the Throne to ſhake and unſettle the Frame of their Government, not as yet firmly enough compacted to bear too many State-Convulſions. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* has been very particular in informing us of the Age of moſt of theſe Kings, when they began to reign, how many Years each of them reigned, and at what Age moſt of them died (*c*): He ſuppoſes the oldeſt Man of them all, not to have lived to above Eighty-three, for that was *Numa*'s Age when he died (*d*); and he repreſents *L. Tarquinius* as quite worn out at Eighty (*e*); ſo that none of them are ſuppoſed to have lived to an extravagant Term of Life. But if after what I have offered, it ſhould be ſtill thought that their Reigns, one with another, are too long to be admitted; I might remark farther, that there were *Interregna* between the Reigns of ſeveral of them. There was an *Interregnum* between *Romulus* and *Numa* (*f*); another between *Numa* and *Tullus Hoſtilius* (*g*); another between *T. Hoſtilius* and *Ancus Martius* (*h*); another between *A. Martius* and *L. Tarquinius* (*i*). Each of theſe *Interregna* might perhaps take up ſome

(*c*) In Lib. 2. 3. 4. (*d*) Lib. 2. ad fin. (*e*) L. 3. c. 72.
(*f*) Lib. 2. c. 57. (*g*) Id. lib. 3. c. 1. (*h*) Id. ibid. c. 36.
(*i*) Id. ibid. c. 46.

Years. The Hiſtorians allot no Space of Time to theſe *Interregna*; but it is known to be no unuſual thing for Writers to begin the Reign of a ſucceeding King from the Death of his Predeceſſor, tho' he did not immediately ſucceed to his Crown. *Numa* was not elected King, until the People found by Experience, that the *Interregal* Government was full of Inconvenicncies (*k*), and ſome Years Adminiſtration might make them ſufficiently ſenſible of it. When *Tullus Hoſtilius* was called to the Crown, the poorer Citizens were in a State of Want, which could no way be relieved but by electing ſome very wealthy Perſon to be King, who could afford to divide the Crown-Lands amongſt them (*l*). *Ancus Martius* was made King, at a Time when the *Roman* Affairs were in a very bad State, thro' the Neglect of the publick Religion, and of *Agriculture* (*m*). And *L. Tarquinius* was elected upon the Neceſſity of a War with the *Apiolani* (*n*): And thus theſe Kings appear not to be called to the Crown until ſome public Exigencies made it neceſſary to have a King. They ſeem to have ſucceeded one another, like the Judges of *Iſrael*; the Succeſſor did not come to the Crown immediately upon the Demiſe of his Predeceſſor; but when a King died, the *Interreges* took the Government, and adminiſtred the publick Affairs, until ſome *Criſis* demanded a new King. If this was the Fact, there can be no Appearance of an Objection againſt the Lengths of the Reigns of theſe Kings; for the Reigns of the Kings were not really ſo long, but the

(*k*) Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2. c. 57. (*l*) Id. l. 3. c. 1. (*m*) Id. l. 3. c. 36. (*n*) Id. ibid. c. 49.

Reigns,

Reigns, and the intervening *Interregna*, put together; and the more I conſider the State of the *Roman* Affairs as repreſented by *Dionyſius*, the more I am inclined to ſuſpect that their Kings ſucceeded in this manner.

III. Sir *Iſaac Newton* contends (*o*), that there were no ſuch Kings of *Aſſyria*, as all the ancient Writers have recorded to have reigned there from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, and to have governed a great Part of *Aſia* for about 1300 Years. Our great and learned Author follows Sir *John Marſham*, in this Particular; for Sir *John Marſham* firſt raiſed Doubts about theſe Kings (*p*); and indeed that learned Gentleman hinted a great Part of what is now offered upon this Subject. I have formerly endeavoured to anſwer Sir *John Marſham*'s Objections, as far as I could then apprehend it to be neceſſary to reply to them (*a*); but ſince Sir *Iſaac Newton* has thought fit to make uſe of ſome of them, and has added others of his own to them, it will be proper for me to mention all the ſeveral Arguments which are now offered againſt theſe *Aſſyrian* Kings, and to lay before the Reader, what I apprehend may be replied to them.

And, 1. It is remarked (*b*), that "the Names "of theſe pretended Kings of *Aſſyria*, except "two or three, have no Affinity with the *Aſ*-"*ſyrian* Names." To this I anſwer; *Cteſias*, from whom we are ſaid to have had the Names of theſe Kings, was not an *Aſſyrian*: He was of *Cnidus*, a City of *Caria* in the *Leſſer Aſia*;

(*o*) Newton's Chron. chap. 3. (*p*) *See* Marſham's Can. Chron. p. 485. (*a*) *Pref. to Vol.* I. (*b*) Newton's Chron. chap. 3.

and

and he wrote his *Perſian* or *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory (I think) in the *Greek* Tongue *(c)*. The Royal Records of *Perſia* ſupplied him with Materials *(d)*, and it is moſt reaſonable to think, that the *Aſſyrian* Kings were not regiſtred by their *Aſſyrian* Names, in the *Perſian* Chronicles; or if they were, that *Cteſias*, in his Hiſtory, did not uſe the Names which he found there, but made others, which he thought equivalent to them. *Diodorus Siculus* did not give the *Egyptian* Heroes whom he mentioned their true *Egyptian* Names, but invented for them ſuch as he thought, if duly explained, were *Synonymous* to them *(e)*. The true Name of *Mitradates*'s Fellow-Servant was *Spaco*, but the *Greeks* called her *Cyno (f)*, apprehending *Cyno* in *Greek* to be of the ſame Import as *Spaco* in the *Mede* Tongue. This was the common Practice of the ancient Writers, and ſome of the Moderns have imitated it, of which Inſtances might be given in ſeveral of the Names in *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory of his own Times; but certainly I need not go on farther in my Reply to this Objection. If *Cteſias* named theſe Kings according to his own Fancy, and really miſnamed them, it can in no wiſe prove that the Perſons ſo miſ-named never were in Being.

2. It is argued, that *Herodotus* did not think *Semiramis* ſo ancient as the Writers who follow *Cteſias* imagined *(g)*: I anſwer; By *Herodotus*'s Accounts, the *Aſſyrian* Empire began at lateſt *A. M.* 2700; for *Cyrus* began his

(c) *See* Diodor. Hiſt. l. 2. p. 84. *(d)* Id. ibid. *(e)* Id. l. 1. p. 8. *(f)* Herodot. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 110. *(g)* Newton's Chron. p. 266. 278.

Reign

Reign at the Death of *Aſtyages*, about *A. M.* 3444 (*h*). *Aſtyages*, according to *Herodotus*, reigned 35 Years (*i*), and therefore began his Reign *A. M.* 3409; he ſucceeded *Cyaxares* (*k*). *Cyaxares* reigned 40 Years (*l*), and therefore began his Reign *A. M.* 3369. *Phraortes* was the Predeceſſor of *Cyaxares*, and reigned 22 Years (*m*), and ſo began his Reign *A. M.* 3347. *Deioces* preceded *Phraortes*, and reigned 53 Years (*n*), and therefore began to reign *A. M.* 3294. *Herodotus* ſuppoſes the *Medes* to have lived for ſome time after their Revolt from the *Aſſyrians* without a King (*o*), we cannot ſuppoſe leſs than two or three Years; and he remarks, that the *Aſſyrians* had governed *Aſia* 520 Years before the Revolt of the *Medes*, ſo that according to his Computations the *Aſſyrian* Empire began about *A. M.* 2771, which is about the Time of *Abimelech* (*p*). Sir *Iſaac Newton* begins the *Aſſyrian* Empire in the Days of *Pul*, who was cotemporary with *Menahem* (*q*), in the Year before our Saviour 790 (*r*), *i. e. A. M.* 3212; ſo that *Herodotus*, however cited in favour of our learned Author's Scheme, does, in reality, differ near 450 Years from it. But to come to the Particular for which our learned Author cites *Herodotus*: He ſays, that *Herodotus* tells us, that *Semiramis* was five Generations older than *Nitocris* the Mother of *Labynitus*, or *Nabonnedus*, the laſt King of *Babylon*; and therefore (he adds) ſhe flouriſhed four Generations, or about 134 Years before

(*h*) Uſher's Chron. Prideaux Connect. (*i*) l. 1. c. 130. (*k*) Ibid. c. 107. (*l*) Ibid. c. 106. (*m*) Ibid. c. 102. (*n*) Ibid. (*o*) Ibid. c. 96. (*p*) Judges ix. Uſher's Chron. (*q*) Chron. p. 268. (*r*) *See the* Short Chron.

Nebuchad-

Nebuchadnezzar. I anſwer; If *Herodotus* intended to repreſent, that *Semiramis* lived but 134 Years before *Nebuchadnezzar*, when, according to his own Computations, the *Aſſyrian* Empire began as above, *A. M.* 2771, he was abſurd indeed; for all Writers have unanimouſly agreed to place *Semiramis* near the Beginning of the Empire; but this would be to ſuppoſe her in the later Ages of it. Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf, ~~who~~ begins the Empire with *Pul*, places *Semiramis* in the Reign of *Tiglath-Pileſer*, whom he ſuppoſes to be *Pul*'s Succeſſor *(s)*, and certainly *Herodotus* muſt likewiſe intend to place her near the Times where he begins the Empire, as all other Writers ever did; and indeed, the Works he aſcribes to her ſeem to intimate that he did ſo too *(t)*; ſo that I cannot but ſuſpect a Miſrepreſentation of *Herodotus*'s Meaning. *Herodotus* does indeed ſay, that *Semiramis* was πέντε γενεῇσι before *Nitocris (u)*; but the Word γενεὰ has a double Acceptation. It is ſometimes uſed to ſignify a Generation or Deſcent, and I am ſenſible that *Herodotus* has more than once uſed it in this Senſe; but it ſometimes ſignifies what the *Latins* call *Ætas*, or *Ævum*; or we in *Engliſh*, an *Age*; and if *Herodotus* uſed it in this Senſe here, then he meant that *Semiramis* was πέντε γενεῇσι, *quinque ætatibus*, [ſays the *Latin* Tranſlator] before *Nitocris*; not five Generations, or Deſcents, but *five Ages* before her. The ancient Writers both before and after *Herodotus* computed a Generation or *Age* of thoſe who lived in the early Times, to be an hundred Years. Thus they

(*s*) Newton's Chronol. p. 278. (*t*) Herodot. l. 1. c. 184. (*u*) Ibid.

reckoned

reckoned *Neſtor* [of whom *Tully* ſays, *tertiam ætatem hominum vivebat (w)*; *Horace*, that he was *ter ævo functus (x)*] becauſe it was reported that he had lived three Generations or Ages, to have lived about 300 Years; *Ovid* well expreſſing the common Opinion, makes him ſay,

——————— *vixi*
Annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur Ætas (y).

The two Ages or Generations which he had lived were computed to be 200 Years; and he was thought to be going on for the third Century. And now, if *Herodotus* in the Place before us uſed the Word γενεὰ in this Senſe, then by *Semiramis* being five Ages or Generations before *Nitocris*, he meant nothing like what our learned Author infers from him, but that ſhe was about 500 Years before her: I might add, this ſeems moſt probably to be his Meaning; becauſe if we take him in this Senſe, he will, as all other Writers have ever done, place *Semiramis* near the Times where he begins the *Aſſyrian* Empire. I have formerly conſidered *Herodotus*'s Opinion, about the Riſe of this Empire, as to the Truth of it *(z)*, and I may here from the moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* add to it *(a)*, that, "*Herodotus* having "travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and ſeveral "other Countries, in order to the writing "of his Hiſtory, did, as Travellers uſe to "do, that is, put down all Relations up-"on Truſt, as he met with them; and no "doubt he was impoſed on in many of them,"

(w) Lib. de Senectute. (x) Lib. 2. Ode II. (y) Metamorph. lib. 12. (z) *Pref. to Vol.* I. (a) Connection, Vol. I. B. 2. p. 156.

and

and particularly in the Inſtance before us; but *Cteſias* living in the Court of *Perſia*, and ſearching the publick Regiſters, was able to give a better Account than *Herodotus* of the *Aſſyrian* Kings. But be *Herodotus*'s Account true or falſe, the whole of it, I am ſure, does not favour our learned Author's *Hypotheſis*; nor, as I apprehend, does the Particular cited about *Semiramis*, if we take the Words of *Herodotus* according to his own Meaning.

3. Sir *Iſaac Newton* cites *Nehemiah*, chap. x. ver. 32 (*b*). The Words are: *Now therefore, our God.* —— *Let not all the Trouble ſeem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our Kings, on our Princes, and on our Prieſts, and on our Prophets, and on our Fathers, and on all thy People, ſince the Time of the Kings of* Aſſyria *unto this Day.* Our learned Author ſays, *ſince the Time of the Kings of* Aſſyria; "that is, ſince "the Time of the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, or "ſince the Riſe of that Empire; and there-"fore the *Aſſyrian* Empire aroſe, when the "Kings of *Aſſyria* began to afflict the *Jews*." In anſwer to this Objection, I would obſerve, that the Expreſſion, *ſince the Time of the Kings of Aſſyria*, or, to render it more ſtrictly, according to the *Hebrew* Words, *from the Days of the Kings of Aſſyria*, is very general, and may ſignify a Time commencing from any Part of their Times, and therefore it is reſtraining the Expreſſion purely to ſerve an *Hypotheſis*, to ſuppoſe the Words to mean, not from their Times in general, but from the very firſt Riſe or Beginning of their Times. The Heathen Writers frequently uſed a like general Expreſ-

(*b*) Newton's Chron. p. 267.

ſion,

ſion, *the* Trojan *Times*, πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, *before the* Trojan *Times* is an Expreſſion both of *Thucydides* and *Diodorus Siculus* (*c*); but neither of them meant by it, before the Riſe of the *Trojan* People, but before the *Trojan* War, with which the *Trojans* and their Times ended. But as to the Expreſſion before us, we ſhall more clearly ſee what was deſigned by it, if we conſider, 1. That the Sacred Writers repreſent the *Jews* as ſuffering in and after theſe Times from the Kings of two Countries, from the Kings of *Aſſyria*, and from the Kings of *Babylon*. *Iſrael* was *a ſcattered Sheep, the Lions had drove him away: Firſt, the King of* Aſſyria *devoured him; and laſt, the King of* Babylon *brake his Bones* (*d*). 2. The Kings of *Aſſyria*, who began the Troubles that were brought upon the *Iſraelites*, were the Kings who reigned at *Nineveh*, from *Pul*, before *Tiglath Pileſer* (*e*), to *Nabopolaſſar*, who deſtroyed *Nineveh*, and made *Babylon* the ſole *Metropolis* of the Empire (*f*): *Pul* firſt began to afflict them; his Succeſſors, at diverſe times and in different manners, diſtreſs'd them; *Nebuchadnezzar* compleated their Miſeries in the Captivity (*g*). But, 3. The Sacred Writers, in the Titles which they give to theſe Kings, did not deſign to hint either the Extent of their Empire, or the Hiſtory of their Succeſſion, but commonly call them Kings of the Country or City where they reſided, whatever other Dominions they were Maſters of, and without any Regard to the

(*c*) Thucyd. l. 1. p. 3. Diodor. l. 1. p. 4. *and the ſame Author uſes* ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν *in the ſame Senſe*, ibid. (*d*) Jerem. l. ver. 17. (*e*) 1 Chron. v. ver. 26. 2 Kings xv. 19. Uſher. Chronol. (*f*) *See* Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. I. (*g*) Id. ibid.

Par-

Particulars of their Actions or Families, of the Riſe of one Family, or Fall of another: *Pul* ſeems to have been the Father of *Sardanapalus* (*h*): *Tiglath Pileſer* was *Arbaces*, who, in Confederacy with *Beleſis*, overthrew the Empire of *Pul*, in the Days of his Son *Sardanapalus* (*i*); and *Tiglath-Pileſer* was not King of ſuch large Dominions as *Pul* and *Sardanapalus* commanded; but the Sacred Writers take no Notiee of theſe Revolutions. *Pul* had his Reſidence at *Nineveh* in *Aſſyria*, and *Tiglath-Pileſer* made that City his Royal Seat (*k*); and for this Reaſon they are both called in Scripture, Kings of *Aſſyria*; and upon the ſame Account, the Succeſſors of *Tiglath-Pileſer* have the ſame Title, until the Empire was removed to *Babylon*. *Salmanezer*, the Son of *Tiglath-Pileſer*, is called King of *Aſſyria* (*l*); and ſo is *Sargon*, or *Sennacherib* (*m*): *Eſar-haddon*, tho' he was King of *Babylon*, as well as of *Aſſyria* (*n*), is called in Scripture King of *Aſſyria*, for in that Country was his Seat of Reſidence (*o*); but after *Nabopolaſſar* deſtroyed *Nineveh*, and removed the Empire to *Babylon*, the Kings of it are called in Scripture Kings of *Babylon*, and not Kings of *Aſſyria*, tho' *Aſſyria* was Part of their Dominions, as *Babylon* and the adjacent Country had been of many of the *Aſſyrian* Kings. There were great Turns and Revolutions in the Kingdoms of theſe Countries, from the Death of *Sardanapalus*, to the Eſtabliſhment of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Empire; but the Sacred Hiſtory does not purſue a Narration of theſe Matters; but

(*h*) *See* Uſher's Chronol. (*i*) Prideaux Connect. ub. ſup. (*k*) Ibid. Vol. I. B. I. (*l*) 2 Kings xvii. 3. (*m*) Iſaiah xx. 1. (*n*) *See* Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. I. Not. in p. 42. (*o*) Ezra iv. 2.

as the Writers of it called the Kings of the ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire Kings of *Elam* when they reſided there (*p*), Kings of *Nineveh* (*q*) or of *Aſſyria*, when they lived in that City or Country (*r*); ſo they call the ſeveral Kings, which aroſe after the Fall of *Sardanapalus*'s Empire, Kings of the Countries where they held their Reſidence; and all that can fairly be deduced from the Words of *Nehemiah* is, that the Troubles of the *Jews* began, whilſt there were Kings reigning in *Aſſyria*, that is, before the Empire of theſe Countries was removed to *Babylon*.

4. "*Seſac* and *Memnon* (ſays our learned "Author) were great Conquerors, and reign-"ed over *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria* and *Perſia*, but in "their Hiſtories there is not a word of any "Oppoſition made to them by an *Aſſyrian* Em-"pire then ſtanding: On the contrary, *Suſia-*"*na*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Cappa-*"*docia*, &c. were conquered by them, and "continued ſubject to the Kings of *Egypt* till "after the long Reign of *Rameſſes* the Son of "*Memnon*." This Objection in its full ſtrength is this: The *Egyptians* conquered and poſſeſſed the very Countries, which were in the Heart of the ſuppoſed *Aſſyrian* Empire, in the times when that Empire is imagined to have flouriſhed, and therefore certainly there was in thoſe Days no ſuch Empire. I anſwer, 1. The *Egyptians* made no great Conqueſts until the Times of *Seſac* in the Reign of *Rehoboam* about *A. M.* 3033, about 200 years before *Sardanapalus*. This *Seſac* was their famous *Seſo-*

(*p*) Gen. xiv. 1. (*q*) Jonah iii. 6. (*r*) 1 Chron v. 26.

ſtris (*s*). I am ſenſible, that there have been many very learned Writers who have thought otherwiſe. *Agathias* imagined *Seſoſtris* to be long before *Ninus* and *Semiramis* (*t*), and the *Scholiaſt* (*u*) upon *Apollonius* ſets him 2900 years before the firſt *Olympiad*; but the current Opinion of the Learned has not gone into this fabulous Antiquity. *Ariſtotle* thought him long before the Times of *Minos* (*w*); *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus* all repreſent him to have lived before the *Trojan* War; and *Euſebius* and *Theophilus*, from an hint of *Manetho*'s in *Joſephus* (*x*), imagined him to be the Brother of *Armais* or *Danaus*, *quàm verè neſcio*, ſays the moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* (*y*); and indeed there are no prevalent Reaſons to admit of this Relation; however, the Sentiments of all theſe Writers may not differ from one another, but *Seſoſtris* may conſiſtently with all of them be imagined to have lived about the Times that *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, and this I think has been the common Opinion about him. But if we look into the *Egyptian* Antiquities, and examine the Particulars of them as collected by *Diodorus*, we ſhall find great Reaſon not to think him thus early. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that there were 52 ſucceſſive Kings after *Menes* or *Mizraim* before *Buſiris* came to the Crown (*z*): *Buſiris* had eight Succeſſors, the laſt of which was *Buſiris* the Second (*a*): twelve Generations or Deſcents after him reigned *Myris* (*b*), and ſe-

(*s*) Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 358. (*t*) L. 2. p. 55. *See* Prideaux Not. Hiſtor. in Chron. Marm. Ep. 9. (*u*) Id. ibid. (*w*) Politic. l. 7. c. 10. (*x*) Lib. 1. contr. Appion. (*y*) Ubi ſup. (*z*) Diodor. l. 1. p. 29. (*a*) Id. ibid. (*b*) Id. p. 33.

ven

ven after *Myris*, *Seſoſtris* (*c*); ſo that according to this Computation, *Seſoſtris* was about 80 Succeſſions after *Menes* or *Mizraim*. *Diodorus* muſt indeed have made a Miſtake in this Computation; for from the Death of *Menes*, *A. M.* 1943 (*d*), to *Seſac* about *A. M.* 3033, are but 1090 years, and 55 Succeſſions may very well carry us down thus far, as may appear from Sir *John Marſham*'s Tables of the Kings of *Egypt*: The ancient *Egyptian* Writers are known to have lengthned their Antiquities, by ſuppoſing all their Kings to have reigned ſucceſſively, when many of them were cotemporaries, and reigned over different parts of the Country, in the ſame Age; and undoubtedly *Diodorus Siculus* was impoſed upon by ſome Accounts of this ſort, and there were not really ſo many Succeſſions, as he imagined, between *Mizraim* and *Seſoſtris*. But then there is a Particular ſuggeſted by him, which muſt fully convince us, that his Computation cannot be ſo reduced as to place *Seſoſtris* about the Times of *Moſes*. He obſerves, that after the Times of *Menes*, 1400 years paſſed before the *Egyptians* performed any conſiderable Actions worth recording (*e*). The number 1400 is indeed thought to be a Miſtake. *Rhodomanus* corrects it in the Margin, and writes 1040. We will take this number: From the Death of *Mizraim* 1040 years will carry us down very near to the Times of *Seſac*: for 50 years after it *Seſac* came againſt *Jeruſalem*: And thus accodr ing to this Account they had no famous Warrior until about the Times of *Seſac*, and there-

(*c*) Id. p. 34. (*d*) *See* Vol. I. B. 4. p. 211. (*e*) Diodor. p. 29.

fore *Seſoſtris* did not live earlier. I might confirm this Account from another very remarkable particular in *Diodorus Siculus*. He tells us of a moſt excellent King of *Egypt*, begat by the River *Nile* in the ſhape of a Bull (*f*): I may venture to reject the Fable of the River and the Bull, and ſuppoſe this Perſon to be the Son of *Phruron* or *Nilus*; his Father's Name being *Nilus* might occaſion the *Mythologiſts* to ſay, that he was begot by the River: Now *Dicæarchus* informs us, that this *Nilus* reigned about 436 years before the firſt *Olympiad*, i. e. about *A. M.* 2792 (*g*), and about this time Sir *John Marſham* places him (*h*): According to *Diodorus*, *Seſoſtris* was 20 Succeſſions after this *Nilus*, and Sir *John Marſham* makes his *Seſac* to be nineteen; ſo that in all probability they were one and the ſame Perſon. And thus a ſtrict view of the *Egyptian* Antiquities will from ſeveral concurrent Hints oblige us to think *Seſoſtris* to be not earlier than the times of, and conquently to be, the *Seſac* mentioned in the Scripture. I might add to all this, that the ſacred Writers, who frequently mention the *Egyptians* from *Abraham*'s time down to the times of this *Seſac*, do give us great Reaſon to think that the *Egyptians* had no ſuch famous Conqueror as *Seſoſtris* before *Seſac*, by giving as great a Proof as we can expect of a Negative, that they made no Conqueſts in *Aſia* before his Days. In *Abraham*'s time, in *Jacob*'s, in *Joſeph*'s we have no Appearance of any thing but Peace between *Egypt* and its *Aſiatic* Neighbours. *Egypt* was conquered by the

(*f*) Diodor. p. 33. (*g*) Vid. Vol. I. B. 4. p. 210.
(*h*) Vid. ibid.

Paſtors

Paſtors who came out of *Aſia* a little before the Birth of *Moſes*, when the *new King aroſe who knew not* Joſeph. Whatever Power and Strength theſe new Kings might be grown to at the *Exit* of the *Iſraelites*, muſt be ſuppoſed to be greatly broken by the Overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the *Red-Sea*. The *Egyptians* had no part in the Wars of the *Canaanites* with *Joſhua*, nor in thoſe of the *Philiſtines*, *Midianites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* againſt *Iſrael* in the times of the *Judges*, or of *Saul*, or of King *David*: *Solomon reigned over all the Kings from the River*, [i. e. from the *Euphrates*] *unto the Land of the* Philiſtines, *and to the Border of* Egypt (*i*); ſo that no *Egyptian* Conqueror came this way until after his Death. *In the fifth year of* Rehoboam, Shiſhak *King of* Egypt *came up againſt* Jeruſalem *with twelve hundred Chariots and threeſcore thouſand Horſemen, and he took the fenced Cities, which pertained to* Judah, *and came to* Jeruſalem (*k*), and the *Iſraelites* were obliged to become his Servants; and *Seſac* conquered not only them, but the neighbouring Nations; for the *Jews* in ſerving him felt only *the Service of the Kingdoms of the Countries* (*l*) round about them; that is, all the neighbouring Nations underwent the ſame. This therefore was the firſt *Egyptian* Conqueror who came into *Aſia*, and we muſt either think this *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* to have been the ſame Perſon, or, which was perhaps the Opinion of *Joſephus* (*m*), ſay, that *Seſoſtris* was no Conqueror; but that *Herodotus* and the other Hiſtorians thro' miſtake aſcri-

(*i*) 2 Chron. ix. 26. (*k*) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3.
(*l*) Ver. 8. (*m*) Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 10.

bed (*n*) to him what they found recorded of *Seſac*. *Joſephus* repreſents *Herodotus* to have made two miſtakes about this *Egyptian* Conqueror, one in miſnaming him, calling him *Seſoſtris* when his real Name was *Seſac*; the other, in thinking him a greater (*o*) Conqueror than he really was: And this Miſtake many of the Heathen Hiſtorians have indeed made in the Accounts they give of him. For, 2. Neither *Seſoſtris* nor *Seſac* did ever conquer ſo many Nations, as the Hiſtorians repreſent, nor were they ever Maſters of any of the Countries, that were a part of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. *Diodorus Siculus* indeed ſuppoſes, that *Seſoſtris* conquered all *Aſia*, not only all the Nations, which *Alexander* afterwards ſubdued, but even many Kingdoms that he never attempted; that he paſſed the *Ganges*, and conquered all *India*; that he ſubjugated the *Scythians*, and extended his Conqueſts into *Europe* (*p*); and *Strabo* agrees to *Diodorus*'s Account of him: What Authorities theſe great Writers found for their Opinion I cannot ſay, but I find the learned *Annotator* upon *Tacitus* did not believe any ſuch Accounts to be well grounded. In his Note upon *Germanicus*'s Relation of the *Egyptian* Conqueſts he ſays, *De hac tantâ Potentiâ Ægyptiorum nihil legi, nec facilè credam* (*q*); and indeed there is nothing to be read, that can ſeem well ſup-

(*n*) Σέσακον· περὶ ὃν πλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρει προσάπτει. Id. Ibid. (*o*) Μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς Ἡρόδοτος, οὐ μόνον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθε ἔθνεσι, καὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης συχνὰ ἐδῄωσατο. Id. ibid. (*p* Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 35. (*q*) Lipſii Comment. ad Tacit Annal. l. 2. n. 137.

ported,

ported, nothing that is conſiſtent with the allowed Hiſtory of other Nations, to repreſent the *Egyptians* to have ever obtained ſuch extenſive Conqueſts. *Herodotus* confines the Expedition of *Seſoſtris* to the Nations upon the *Aſiatic* Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, and after his return from ſubduing *them*, to the Weſtern Parts of the Continent of *Aſia*: He repreſents him to have ſubdued *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, and the Kingdoms up to *Europe*; thence to have paſſed over to the *Thracians*; and from them to the *Scythians*, and to have come to the River *Phaſis*: Here he ſuppoſes him to have ſtopped his Progreſs, and to have returned back from hence to *Egypt* (*r*). *Herodotus* appears to have examined the Expedition of *Seſoſtris* with far more Exactneſs than *Strabo* or *Diodorus*: He enquired after the Monuments or Pillars which *Seſoſtris* ſet up in the Nations he ſubdued (*s*), but it no way appears from his Accounts that this mighty Conqueror attacked any one Nation, that was really a part of the *Aſſyrian* Empire; but rather the courſe of his Enterprizes led him quite away from the *Aſſyrian* Dominions. *Seſoſtris* did great Things, but they have been greatly magnified. The ancient Writers were very apt to record a Perſon to have travelled over the whole World, if he had been in a few different Nations. *Abraham* travelled from *Chaldea* into *Meſopotamia*, into *Canaan*, *Philiſtia*, and *Egypt*, the prophane Writers ſpeaking of him under the Name of *Chronus* ſay he travelled over the whole World (*t*): thus the *Egyptians* might record of *Se-*

(*r*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 102, 103. (*s*) Id. ibid. (*t*) See Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

ſoſtris, that he conquered the whole World; and the Hiſtorians that took the hints of what they wrote from them, might, to embelliſh their Hiſtory, give us what they thought the moſt conſiderable parts of the World, and thereby magnify the Conqueſts of *Seſoſtris* far above the Truth: But *Herodotus* ſeems in this Point to have been more careful: He examined Particulars, and according to the utmoſt of what he could find, none of the Victories of this *Egyptian* Conqueror reached to any of the Nations ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*. But Sir *Iſaac Newton* mentions *Memnon* as another *Egyptian* Conqueror, who poſſeſſed *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Perſia* and *Bactria*, &c. ſo that it may be thought that ſome Succeſſor of *Seſoſtris* (for before him the *Egyptians* had no Conquerors) ſubdued and reigned over theſe Countries. I ſhall therefore, 3. give a ſhort Abſtract of the *Egyptian* Affairs from *Seſac*, until *Nebuchadnezzar* took intirely away from them all their Acquiſitions in *Aſia*. At the Death of *Seſac* the *Egyptian* Power ſunk at once, and they loſt all the foreign Nations which *Seſac* had conquered. *Herodotus* informs us, that *Seſoſtris* was the only King of *Egypt* that reigned over the *Ethiopians* (*u*), and agreeably hereto we find that when *Aſa* was King of *Judah*, about *A. M.* 3063 (*w*), about 30 years after *Seſoſtris* or *Seſac*'s Conqueſts, the *Ethiopians* (*x*) were not only free from their Subjection to the *Egyptians*, but were grown up into a ſtate of

(*u*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 110. (*w*) Uſher's Chronol. (*x*) Hebrew *Word is the* Cuſhites, *it ſhould have been tranſlated the* Arabians. *See* Vol. I. B. 3. p. 166.

great

great Power, for *Zerah* their King invaded *Judea with an Hoſt of a thouſand thouſand, and three hundred Chariots* (*y*). Our great Author ſays, that *Ethiopia* ſerved *Egypt* until the Death of *Seſoſtris* and no longer, that at the Death of *Seſoſtris Egypt* fell into Civil Wars, and was invaded by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopians* for ſome Time, but that in about ten years the *Ethiopians* invaded the *Egyptians*, ſlew their King and ſeized his Kingdom (*z*). It is certain, that the *Egyptian* Empire was at this Time demoliſhed: The *Ethiopians* were free from it, and if we look into *Paleſtine* we ſhall not find Reaſon to imagine that the *Egyptians* had the ſervice of any Nation there, from this Time for many years. *Aſa* King of *Judah* and *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael* had neither of them any dependance upon *Egypt*, when they warred againſt (*a*) one another, and *Syria* was in a flouriſhing and independent ſtate, when *Aſa* ſought an Alliance with *Benhadad:* About *A. M.* 3116, about 83 years after *Seſac*, we find *Egypt* ſtill in a low ſtate, the *Philiſtines* were independent of them; for they joined with the *Arabians* and diſtreſſed *Jehoram* (*b*). About 117 years after *Seſac*, when the *Syrians* beſieged *Samaria* (*c*), it may be thought that the *Egyptians* were growing powerful again; for the *Syrians* raiſed their Siege, upon a Rumour that the King of *Iſrael* had hired the Kings of the *Hittites* and of the *Egyptians* to come upon them (*d*). The *Egyptians* were perhaps by this

(*y*) 2 Chron. xiv. (*z*) Newton's Chron. p. 236. (*a*) 1 Kings xv. (*b*) 2 Chron. xxi. 16. (*c*) 2 Kings vi. 24. (*d*) vii. 6.

Time

Time getting out of their Difficulties; but they were not yet grown very formidable, for the *Syrians* were not terrified at the Apprehenſion of the *Egyptian* Power, but of the Kings of the *Hittites* and of the *Egyptians* joined together. From this Time indeed the *Egyptians* began to riſe again, and when *Sennacherib* ſent *Rabſhekah* againſt *Jeruſalem* (*e*) about *A. M.* 3292, the King of *Iſrael* thought an Alliance with *Egypt* might have been ſufficient to protect him againſt the *Aſſyrian* Invaſions (*f*); but the King of *Aſſyria* made war upon the *Egyptians*, and rendred them *a bruiſed Reed* (*g*), not able to aſſiſt their Allies, and greatly brake and reduced their Power (*h*); ſo that whatever the Empire of *Egypt* was in thoſe Days, there was an *Aſſyrian* Empire now ſtanding able to check it. In the Days of *Joſiah*, about *A. M.* 3394, the *Egyptian* Empire was revived again. *Necho* King of *Egypt* went and fought againſt *Carchemiſh* by *Euphrates* (*i*), and in his return to *Egypt* put down *Jehoahaz*, who was made King in *Jeruſalem* upon *Joſiah*'s Death, and condemned the Land of the *Jews* to pay him a Tribute, and carried *Jehoahaz* Captive into *Egypt*, and made *Eliakim*, whom he named *Jehoiakim*, King over *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* (*a*). But here we meet a final Period put to all the *Egyptian* Victories; for *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* came up againſt *Jehoiakim*, and bound him in Fetters, and carried him to *Babylon*, and made *Zedekiah* his Brother

(*e*) 2 Kings xviii. (*f*) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. (*g*) 2 Kings xviii 21. (*h*) Prideaux ubi ſup. (*i*) 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. (*a*) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

King

King over *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* (*b*), and the King of *Babylon* took from the River of *Egypt* unto the River *Euphrates* all that pertained to the King of *Egypt*, and the King of *Egypt* came not again any more out of his own Land (*c*). Whatever the Empire of *Egypt* over any Parts of *Aſia* had been, here it ended, about *A. M.* 3399 (*d*), about 366 Years after its firſt Riſe under *Seſac:* Its neareſt Approach upon the Dominions of *Aſſyria* appears to have been the taking of *Carchemiſh*, but even here it went not over the *Euphrates*; however upon this Approach, *Nebuchadnezzar* ſaw the neceſſity of reducing it, and in a few Years War ſtripped it intirely of all its Acquiſitions. This is the Hiſtory of the Empire of the *Egyptians*, and I ſubmit it to the Reader, whether any Argument can be formed from it againſt the Being of the ancient Empire of the *Aſſyrians*.

5. Sir *Iſaac Newton* contends, that there was no ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire, becauſe the Kingdoms of *Iſrael*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philiſtia*, *Zidon*, *Damaſcus* and *Hamath* were not any of them ſubject to the *Aſſyrians* until the Days of *Pul* (*e*). I anſwer: The Prophane Hiſtorians have indeed repreſented this *Aſſyrian* Empire to be of far larger Extent, than it really was. They ſay that *Ninus* conquered *Aſia*, which might more eaſily be admitted, if they would take care to deſcribe *Aſia* ſuch as it was, when he conquered it. It does not appear that he conquered all this

(*b*) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. (*c*) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (*d*) Uſher's Annal. (*e*) Newton's Chronol. p. 269.

Quarter

Quarter of the World; however, as he ſubdued moſt of the Kingdoms, that were then in it, he might in the general be ſaid to have conquered *Aſia*. All the Writers that have contended for this Empire, agree that *Ninus* and *Semiramis* were the Founders of it (*f*), and they are farther unanimous that the Succeſſors of *Semiramis* did not make any conſiderable Attempts to enlarge the Empire, beyond what ſhe and *Ninus* had made it (*g*); *Semiramis* employed her Armies in the Eaſtern Countries (*h*), ſo that we have no Reaſon to think that this Empire extended Weſtward any, or but little, farther than *Ninus* carried it. We read indeed that the King of *Elam* had the five Cities on the Borders of *Canaan* ſubject to him (*i*); but upon *Abraham*'s defeating his Army, he loſt them, and never recovered them again: But I would obſerve, that even whilſt he had the Dominion of theſe Cities, in the full ſtretch of his Empire, it did not reach to the Kingdoms of *Iſrael*, or which then were the Kingdoms of *Canaan*; for he never came any farther, than to the five Cities; neither was he Maſter of *Philiſtia*, for that was farther Weſtward; nor does he appear to have come near to *Sidon*. As to the other Kingdoms, mentioned by our learned Author, namely, the Kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath*, they were not in Being in theſe Times. *Moab* and *Ammon* were the Sons of *Lot*, and they were not born until after the Deſtruction of *Sodom*

(*f*) Diodor. Sic. l. 2. Juſtin l. 1. (*g*) Id. ibid. *what* Juſtin *ſays of* Ninyas *may be applied to his Succeſſors for many Generations,* contenti a Parentibus elaborato Imperio belli ſtudia depoſuerunt. (*h*) Id. ibid. (*i*) Gen. xiv.

and

and *Gomorrah* (*k*), and the Countries which were planted by them and their Deſcendants could not be planted by them until many Years after this Time. The *Emims* dwelt in theſe Countries in theſe Days (*l*), and *Chedorlaomer* ſubdued them (*m*); but as he loſt all theſe Countries upon *Abraham*'s routing his Forces, ſo I do not apprehend that he ever recovered them again: The *Emims* after this lived unmoleſted, until in After-Times the Children of *Lot* conquered them, and got the Poſſeſſion of their Country (*n*), and at that Time the *Aſſyrians* had nothing to do in theſe Parts. The ſame is to be ſaid of *Edom*: The *Horites* were the ancient Inhabitants of this Land (*o*), and *Chedorlaomer* ſmote them in their Mount *Seir* (*p*); but as he loſt his Dominion over theſe Nations, ſo the *Horites* or *Horims* grew ſtrong again, until the Children of *Eſau* conquered them (*q*), and the *Aſſyrians* were not Maſters of this Country until later Ages. As to *Damaſcus*, the Heathen Writers thought that *Abraham* firſt made a Plantation there (*r*); probably it was planted in his Times. The *Syrians* were grown up to two Nations in *David*'s Time, and were conquered by him (*s*): In the decline of *Solomon*'s Reign, *Rezon* made *Syria* an independant Kingdom again (*t*), and *Damaſcus* became its capital City (*u*); and in *Ahab*'s Time it was grown ſo powerful, that *Benhadad* the King

(*k*) Gen. xix. 37, 38. (*l*) Deut. ii. 10. (*m*) Gen. xiv. 5. (*n*) Deut. ii. 9. Gen. xix. 37, 38. (*o*) Deut. ii. 12. (*p*) Gen. xiv. 6. (*q*) Deut. ii. 12. (*r*) Damaſcenus apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. (*s*) 2 Samuel viii. (*t*) 1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25. (*u*) Ibid. Iſaiah vii. 8.

of

of it had thirty and two Kings in his Army (*w*); but all this Time *Syria* and all its Dependants were not ſubject to the Kings of *Aſſyria*: In the Times of *Ahaz*, when *Rezin* was King, *Tiglath-Pileſer* conquered him, took *Damaſcus*, captivated the Inhabitants of it, and put an end to the Kingdom of *Syria* (*x*), but before this, neither he nor his Predeceſſors appear to have had any Command in theſe Countries. God gave by Promiſe to the Seed of *Abraham* all the Land from the River of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates* (*y*), and *Solomon* came into the full Poſſeſſion of it (*z*); but neither he nor his Fathers had any Wars with the Kings of *Aſſyria*; ſo that we muſt conclude that the King of *Aſſyria*'s Dominions reached no farther than to that River. When *Chedorlaomer* invaded *Canaan*, the World was thin of People, and the Nations planted in it were comparatively ſpeaking but few, and all the large Tract between the Nations which he came to Conquer, and the *Euphrates*, was not inhabited; for we find that his Auxiliaries that came with him, lived all in and near the Land of *Shinaar*; ſo that there were no intermediate Nations; for if there had been any, he would have brought their united ſtrength along with him: And this agrees with the Deſcription of the Land between the River of *Egypt* and the *Euphrates* in the Promiſe to *Abraham* (*a*); the Nations inhabiting in and near *Canaan* are enumerated, but beſides them there were no other; and agreea-

(*w*) 1 Kings xx. (*x*) 2 Kings xvi. (*y*) Gen. xv.
(*z*) 2 Chron. ix. 26. (*a*) Gen. xv. 18 —— 21.

bly

bly hereto, when *Jacob* travelled from *Canaan* to the Land of *Haran (b)*, and afterwards when he returned with a large Family from *Laban* into *Canaan (c)*, we do not read that he paſſed thro' many Nations, but rather over uninhabited Countries, ſo that the Kingdoms near *Canaan* which ſerved *Chedorlaomer* were in his Times the next to the Kingdoms, on or near the *Euphrates*, and therefore when he loſt the Service of theſe Nations, his Empire extended no farther than that River, and his Succeſſors not enlarging their Empire, all the Country between *Paleſtine* and *Euphrates*, tho' after theſe Days many Nations were planted in it, was not a Part of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, until in After-Times the *Aſſyrian*, and after them the *Babylonian* Kings by new Conqueſts extended their Empire farther than ever their Predeceſſors had done. When the ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire was diſſolved on the Death of *Sardanapalus*, the Dominions belonging to it were divided between the two Commanders, who ſubverted it; *Arbaces* the Governour of *Media*, and *Beleſis* Governour of *Babylon*. *Beleſis* had *Babylon* and *Chaldea*, and *Arbaces* had all the reſt (*d*). *Arbaces* is in Scripture called *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and the Nations he became Maſter of were *Aſſyria* and the Eaſtern Provinces, the Kingdoms of *Elam* and *Media*; for hither he ſent his Captives when he conquered *Syria (dd)*; and therefore theſe Countries thus divided were the whole of the ancient Empire of the *Aſſyrians*. And thus our learned Author's Ar-

(*b*) Gen. xxviii. xxix. (*c*) Gen. xxxi. (*d*) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. 1. (*dd*) Id. ibid. 2 Kings xvii. 6.

gument

gument does in no wiſe prove, that there was no ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire, it only intimates, what may be abundantly proved to be true, that the prophane Hiſtorians ſuppoſed many Countries to be a Part of it, which really were not ſo; they were not accurate in the particulars of their Hiſtory: They reported the Armies of *Semiramis* to be vaſtly more numerous than they really were, but we muſt not thence infer, that ſhe raiſed no Armies at all: They took their Dimenſions of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, from what was afterwards the Extent of the *Babylonian* or *Perſian*; but tho' they thus ſurprizingly magnified it, yet we cannot conclude that there was no ſuch Empire, from their having miſrepreſented the Grandeur and Extent of it.

There are ſome Particulars ſuggeſted by our great and learned Author, which tho' they do not directly fall under the Argument which I have conſidered, may yet be here mentioned. Sir *Iſaac Newton* remarks, 1. that "the Land "of *Haran* mentioned *Gen.* xi. was not under "the *Aſſyrian*" (*e*). I anſwer: When the *Chaldeans* expelled *Terah* and his Family their Land for not ſerving their Gods (*f*), they removed about 100 Miles up the Country, towards the North-weſt, and the Earth was not then ſo full of Inhabitants, but that they here found a Tract of Land diſtant from all other Plantations, and living here within themſelves upon their Paſturage and Tillage, and having no Buſineſs with diſtant Nations, no one interrupted their Quiet. The Territories of the *Chaldees* reached moſt probably but a little Way from

(*e*) Newton's *Chronol.* p. 269. (*f*) Judith v. 8.

Ur,

Ur, for Kingdoms were but ſmall in theſe Times: *Terah*'s Family lived far from their Borders and Plantations, and that gave them the Peace they enjoyed. But, 2. "In the Time "of the Judges of *Iſrael*, *Meſopotamia* was un-"der its own King" (*g*). I anſwer, ſo was *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Zoar*, in the Days of *Abraham*, and yet all the Kings of theſe Cities had ſerved *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* twelve Years (*h*): But it may be ſaid, *Chuſhan-riſhithaim* the King of *Meſopotamia* warred againſt (*i*), and enſlaved the *Iſraelites*, and therefore does not ſeem to have been himſelf ſubject to a foreign Power. But to this it may be replyed: The Princes that were ſubject to the *Aſſyrian* Empire, were *altogether Kings* (*k*) in their own Countries, they made War and Peace with other Nations not under the Protection of the *Aſſyrians*, as they pleaſed, and were not controuled if they paid the annual Tribute or Service required from them. But, 3. "When "*Jonah* propheſied, *Nineveh* contained but a-"bout 120000 Perſons." I anſwer; when *Jonah* propheſied *Nineveh contained more than* 120000 *Perſons, that could not diſcern between their* Right Hand and their Left (*l*): thus many were the Children not grown up to Years of Diſcretion; how far more numerous were all the Perſons in it? A City ſo exceeding populous muſt ſurely be the Head of a very large Empire in theſe Days. But, "the King of *Ni-*"*neveh* was not yet called King of *Aſſyria*, but

(*g*) Newton, p. 269. (*h*) Gen. xiv. ver. 4.
(*i*) Judges iii. ver. 8. (*k*) Iſaiah x. ver. 8. (*l*) Jonah iv. ver. 11.

"King of *Nineveh* only." I anſwer; *Chedorlaomer* is called in Scripture only King of *Elam* (*m*), tho' Nations about 900 Miles diſtant from that City were ſubject to him; for ſo far we muſt compute from *Elam* to *Canaan*. But, "the Faſt kept to avert the Threatnings of the "Prophet, was not publiſhed in ſeveral Na-"tions, nor in all *Aſſyria*, but only in *Nineveh*" (*n*). I anſwer; the *Ninevites* and their King only faſted, becauſe the Threatnings of *Jonah* were not againſt *Aſſyria*, nor againſt the Nations that ſerved the King of *Nineveh*, but againſt the City of *Nineveh* only (*o*). But, 4. "*Homer* "does not mention, and therefore knew nothing "of an *Aſſyrian* Empire (*p*)." If I were to conſider at large how little the *Aſſyrian* Empire extended towards the Nations, which *Homer* was concerned with, it would be no Wonder that he did not mention this Empire in his Account of the *Trojan* War, or Travels of *Ulyſſes*; but ſince it can in no wiſe be concluded that *Homer* knew of no Kingdoms in the World, but what he mentioned in his Poems, I think I need not enlarge ſo much in Anſwer to this Objection.

There is one Objection more of our learned Author's which ought more carefully to be examined; for,

6. He contends, that "the *Aſſyrians* were a "(*q*) People no ways conſiderable, when *Amos* "propheſied in the Reign of *Jeroboam* the Son

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(*m*) Gen. xiv.
(*n*) Newton's Chron. p. 270.
(*o*) Jonah iii.
(*p*) Newton's Chron. p. 270.
(*q*) P. 271.

"of

" of *Joaſh*, about ten or twenty Years before " the Reign of *Pul*; for God then threatned " to raiſe up a Nation againſt *Iſrael*. The Na- " tion here intended was the *Aſſyrian*, but it is " not once named in all the Book of *Amos*. " In the Propheſies of *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Hoſea*, " *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, *Zechariah*, after " the Empire was grown up, it is openly " named upon all Occaſions: But as *Amos* " names not the *Aſſyrians* in all his Prophecy; " ſo it ſeems moſt probable, that the *Aſſyrians* " made no great Figure in his Days: They " were to be raiſed up againſt *Iſrael* after he " propheſied. The true Import of the *Hebrew* " Word, which we tranſlate *raiſe up*, expreſ- " ſes, that God would raiſe up the *Aſſyrians* " from a Condition lower than the *Iſraelites*, " to a ſtate of Power ſuperior to them; but " ſince the *Aſſyrians* were not in this ſuperior " State when *Amos* propheſied, it muſt be al- " lowed, that the *Aſſyrian* Empire began and " grew up after the Days of *Amos*." This is the Argument in its full Strength: My Anſwer to it is; the Nation intended in the Propheſy of *Amos* was not the then *Aſſyrian*, I mean, not the *Aſſyrian*, which flouriſhed and was power- ful in the Days of *Amos*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſays, that *Amos* propheſied ten Years before the Reign of *Pul*. *Pul* was the Father of *Sardana- palus* (*r*), and therefore the *Aſſyrian* King in whoſe Reign *Amos* propheſied was probably *Sardanapalus*'s Grandfather; but it was not any of the Deſcendants of theſe Kings, nor any of

(*r*) Uſher's Chronol.

the Poſſeſſors of their Empire, which were to afflict the *Jews*. Their Empire was to be diſſolved; and we find it was ſo on the Death of *Sardanapalus*, and a new Empire was to be raiſed on the Ruins of it, which was to grow from ſmall Beginnings to great Power. *Tiglath-Pileſer*, who had been *Sardanapalus*'s Deputy-Governor of *Media*, was raiſed firſt to be King of part of the Dominions which had belonged to the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and ſome time after this his Riſe, he conquer'd *Syria*, took *Damaſcus*, and reduced all that Kingdom under his Dominion, and ſo began to fulfil the Prophecy of *Amos*, and to afflict the *Jews from the entring in of Hamath* (*s*); for *Hamath* was a Country near to *Damaſcus*, and here he began his Invaſions of their Land (*t*); ſome time after this he ſeized all that belonged to *Iſrael* beyond *Jordan*, and went forwards towards *Jeruſalem*, and brought *Ahaz* under Tribute. After the Death of *Tiglath-Pileſer*, his Son *Salmanezer* conquered *Samaria*, and after him *Sennacherib* took ſeveral of the fenced Cities of *Judah*, laid Siege to *Lachiſh*, threatned *Jeruſalem*, and reduced *Hezekiah* to pay him Tribute, and marched thro' the Land againſt *Egypt*, and under him the Propheſy of *Amos* may be ſaid to have been compleated, and the Affliction of the *Iſraelites* carried on *to the River of the Wilderneſs* (*u*), *i. e.* to the River *Sihor* at the Entrance of *Egypt* on the Wilderneſs of *Etham*: Thus the *Iſraelites* were indeed greatly afflicted by the Kings of the *Aſſyrian*

(*s*) Amos vi. ver. 4. (*t*) *See* Prideaux *Connect.* Vol. I. B. I.
(*u*) Amos ub. ſup.

Empire;

Empire; but not by the Kings of that *Aſſyrian* Empire which flouriſhed in the Days of *Amos*, but of another Empire of *Aſſyria*, which was raiſed up after his Days, upon the Ruins and Diſſolution of the former. The whole Strength of our great Author's Argument lies in this Fallacy: He ſuppoſes what is the Point to be proved; namely, that there was but one *Aſſyrian* Empire, and ſo concludes from *Amos*'s having intimated that an *Aſſyrian* Empire ſhould be raiſed after his Times, that there was no *Aſſyrian* Empire in and before his Times; whereas the Truth is, there were two *Aſſyrian* Empires, different from each other, not only in the Times of their Riſe and Continuance, but in the Extent of their Dominion, and the Countries that were ſubject to them. The former began at *Ninus*, and ended at the Death of *Sardanapalus*; the latter began at *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and ended about 135 Years after, at the Deſtruction of *Nineveh* by *Nabopolaſſar* (*w*): The former Empire commanded *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Perſia*, *Media*, and the Eaſtern Nations toward *India*; the latter Empire began at *Nineveh*, reduced *Aſſyria*, and extended it ſelf into *Media* and *Perſia*, then conquered *Samaria*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and afterwards ſubdued *Babylon* alſo, and the Kingdoms belonging to it (*x*).

Our learned Author has obſerved the Conqueſts obtained over diverſe Nations by the Kings of *Aſſyria*. He remarks from *Sennacherib*'s

(*w*) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. 1. (*x*) Prideaux ub. ſup.

Boaſt to the *Jews* (*y*), that theſe Conqueſts were obtained by *Sennacherib* and his Fathers: He repreſents *Sennacherib*'s Fathers to have been *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pileſer* and *Shalmanzer*, and ſays, that theſe Kings were great Conquerors, and with a Current of Victories had newly overflowed all Nations round about *Aſſyria*, and thereby ſet up this Monarchy (*z*). I anſwer; *Pul* was not an Anceſtor of *Sennacherib*: *Pul* was of another Family; King of a different Empire from that which the Fathers of *Sennacherib* erected: *Pul* was the Father of *Sardanapalus* (*a*): *Tiglath-Pileſer* the Grandfather of *Sennacherib* ruined *Sardanapalus* the Son of *Pul*, got Poſſeſſion of his Royal City, and part of his Dominions; and he and his Poſterity erected, upon this Foundation, a far greater Empire than *Pul* had ever been in Poſſeſſion of. 2. *Pul* conquered none of the Countries mentioned by *Sennacherib* to have been ſubdued by him and his Fathers: *Pul* is, I think, mentioned but twice by the ſacred Hiſtorians. We are told that God *ſtirred up the Spirit of Pul King of Aſſyria* (*b*), and we are informed what *Pul* did (*c*). He came againſt the Land of *Iſrael* when *Menahem* the Son of *Gadi* had gotten the Kingdom, and *Menahem* gave him a thouſand Talents of Silver, ſo *Pul* turned back and ſtayed not in the Land (*cc*). Our great and learned Author ſays, that *Pul* was a great Warrior, and ſeems to have conquered *Haran*, and *Carchemiſh*, and *Reſeph*, and *Calneh*, and *Thelaſar*, and

(*y*) 2 Kings xix. ver. 11.
(*z*) Newton p. 273---277.
(*a*) Uſher's Chron.
(*b*) 1 Chronic. v. ver. 26.
(*c*) 2 Kings xv. ver. 19.
(*cc*) Ver. 20.

might

might found or enlarge the City of *Babylon*, and build the old Palace (*d*). I anſwer; *Pul* made the Expedition above mentioned, but he was bought off from proſecuting it, and we have no one Proof that he conquered any one Kingdom upon the Face of the Earth: He enjoyed the Dominions his Anceſtors had left him, and tranſmitted them to his Son or Succeſſor *Sardanapalus*; and therefore, 3. All the freſh Victories obtained by the Kings of *Aſſyria*, by which they appear after theſe Times to have conquered ſo many Lands, began at *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and were obtained by him and his Succeſſors, after the Diſſolution of the ancient Empire of the *Aſſyrians*; and the Hints we have of them do indeed prove, that a great Monarchy was raiſed in theſe Days, by the Kings of *Aſſyria*; but they do not prove that there had been no *Aſſyrian* Empire before: The ancient *Aſſyrian* Empire was broken down about this Time, and its Dominions divided amongſt thoſe who had conſpired againſt the Kings of it. *Tiglath-Pileſer* gat *Nineveh*, and he and his Succeſſors by Steps and Degrees, by a Current of new Victories, ſubdued Kingdom after Kingdom, and in Time raiſed a more extenſive *Aſſyrian* Empire than the former had been.

From a general View of what both Sir *Iſaac Newton* and Sir *John Marſham* have offered about the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, it may be thought, that the ſacred and prophane Hiſtory differ irreconcileably about it; but certainly the ſacred Writers did not deſign to enter ſo far

(*d*) Newton, p. 278.

into the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, its Riſe or Dominions, as theſe great and moſt learned Authors are willing to repreſent. The Books of the Old *Teſtament* are chiefly confin'd to the *Jews* and their Affairs, and we have little mention in them of other Nations, any farther than the *Jews* happened to be concerned with them; but the little we have is, if duly conſidered, capable of being brought to a ſtrict Agreement and clear Connection with the Accounts of the Prophane Hiſtorians, except in Points wherein theſe have apparently exceeded or deviated from the Truth. A Romantic Humour of magnifying ancient Facts, Buildings, Wars, Armies and Kingdoms, is what we muſt expect in their Accounts, and we muſt make a due Allowance for it; and if we do ſo, we ſhall find in many Points a greater Coincidence of what they write, with what is hinted in Scripture, than one who has not examined would expect. The ſacred Hiſtory ſays, that *Nimrod* began a Kingdom at *Babel* (*a*), and the Time of his beginning it muſt be computed to be about *A. M.* 1757 (*b*), and to this agrees in a remarkable Manner the Account which *Calliſthenes* formed of the *Aſtronomical* Obſervations, that had been made at *Babylon* before *Alexander* took that City; he ſuppoſed them to reach 1903 Years backward from *Alexander*'s coming thither; ſo that they began at *A. M* 1771 (*c*), about 14 Years after the Riſe of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom. I have already

(*a*) Gen. x. ver. 10. (*b*) *See* Vol. I. B. IV. p. 189.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 191.

remarked,

remarked, that the Writers who deny the *Babylonian* Antiquites, endeavour, as their *Hypotheſis* requires they ſhould, to ſet aſide this Account of *Calliſthenes*: Sir *John Marſham* would prefer the Accounts of *Beroſus* or *Epigenes* before it (*d*), but to them I have already anſwered (*e*). Our illuſtrious Author ſeems beſt pleaſed with what *Diodorus Siculus* relates (*f*), that "when *Alexander* the Great was in *Aſia*, the "*Chaldeans* reckoned 473000 Years, ſince they "firſt began to obſerve the Stars (*g*)". This I allow might be the Boaſt of the *Chaldeans*; but I would obſerve from what *Calliſthenes* reported, that a Stranger, when admitted accurately to examine their Accounts, could find no ſuch Thing. The Ancients, before they computed the Year by the Sun's Motion, had Years of various Lengths calculated from diverſe Eſtimates, and amongſt the reſt the *Chaldeans* are remarkable for having had Years ſo ſhort, that they imagined their ancient Kings to have lived or reigned above 6, 7, or 10 thouſand of them (*b*); ſomething of a like nature might be the 473000 Years aſcribed to their Aſtronomy, and *Calliſthenes* upon a Reduction of them to *Solar* Years, might judge them to contain but 1903 real Years, and ſo conclude their Obſervations to reach no farther backward: This ſeems to be the moſt probable Account of thoſe Obſervations; and I cannot but think, that our great Author's Inclination to his *Hypotheſis* was the

(*d*) Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 474. (*e*) *See Pref. to* Vol. I. p. 31. (*f*) Lib. 2. p. 83. (*g*) Newton's Chron. p. 265. (*b*) *See Pref. to* Vol. I. p. 23. Euſeb. in Chron.

only

only Reaſon, that induced him to produce the 473000 Years of the *Chaldeans*, and to ſeem to intimate that *Calliſthenes*'s Report of 1903 reached only to a Part of them (*i*), the larger Number being moſt likely to make the *Aſſyrian* Antiquities appear extravagant. The prophane Hiſtorians generally carry up their Kingdom of *Aſſyria* to *Ninus* (*k*), and *Ninus* reigned when *Abraham* was born (*l*); and we are well aſſured from the Scriptures, that the *Aſſyrian* Antiquities are not hereby carried up too high; for in the Time of *Nimrod*, *Aſhur* erected a Kingdom, and built ſeveral Cities in this Country (*m*). The prophane Hiſtorians repreſent *Ninus* to have been a very great Conqueror, and relate, that he ſubjected the *Aſiatic* Nations to his Empire, and the ſacred Hiſtory confirms this Particular very remarkably; for it informs us, that the King of *Elam* in the Days of *Abraham* had Nations ſubject to his Service, about 8 or 900 Miles diſtant from the City of his Reſidence; for ſo far we muſt compute from *Elam* to the five Cities, which ſerved *Chedorlaomer* twelve Years (*n*). We find from Scripture, that *Chedorlaomer* loſt the Obedience of theſe Countries; and after *Abraham*'s defeating his Armies, until *Tiglath-Pileſer*, the *Aſſyrian* Kings appear not to have had any Dominion over the Nations between the *Mediterranean* and the *Euphrates*; this indeed ſeems to confine the *Aſſyrian* Empire within narrower Bounds,

(*i*) Newton Chron. p. 44. (*k*) *See* Diodor. Sic. l. 2. Juſtin. l. 1. Euſeb. Chron. (*l*) Πρεπ. Euſeb. (*m*) Gen. x. ver. 11. (*n*) Gen. xiv.

than

than can well agree with the Accounts which the Heathen Writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that theſe enlarged Accounts come from Hands comparatively Modern: *Diodorus* informs us, that he took his from *Cteſias* (*o*): *Cteſias* might have the Number of his ancient *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the Times or Lengths of their Reigns, from the *Perſian* Chronicles (*p*); but as all Writers have agreed to aſcribe no great Actions to any of them from after *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*; ſo it appears moſt reaſonable to imagine, that the *Perſian* Regiſtries made but a very ſhort Mention of them; for ancient Regiſtries afforded but little Hiſtory (*q*), and therefore I ſuſpect that *Cteſias*'s Eſtimate of the ancient *Aſſyrian* Grandeur was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the *Perſian* Empire, than taken from any authentic Accounts of the ancient *Aſſyrian*. The prophane Hiſtorians relate, that the *Aſſyrian* Empire was broken down at the Death of *Sardanapalus*; but the *Jews* having at this Time no Concern with the *Aſſyrians*, the ſacred Writers do not mention this great Revolution; however, all the Accounts in Scripture of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, and of the Kings of *Babylon*, which are ſubſequent to the Times of *Sardanapalus*, will appear to be reconcileable to the Suppoſal of ſuch a Subverſion of this ancient Empire, to any one that reads the firſt Book of the moſt learned Dean *Prideaux*'s Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament.

I have now gone thro' what I propoſed to offer at this Time againſt Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s

(*o*) Lib. 2. (*p*) Id. Ibid. (*q*) *See* Gen. v, x, xi, xxxvi, *&c.*

Chrono-

Chronology: I hope I ſhall not appear to have ſelected two or three Particulars out of many, ſuch as I might eaſily reply to, omitting others more weighty and material; for I have conſidered the very Points, which are the Foundation of this new *Scheme*, and which, if I have ſufficiently anſwered, will leave me no very difficult Task to defend my adhering to the received Chronology. If the Argument formed from *Chiron*'s Conſtellations were ſtripped of its *Aſtronomical* Dreſs, a common Reader might be able to judge, that it cannot ſerve the Purpoſe it is alledged for: If (as the moſt celebrated Dr. *Halley* repreſents) the ancient Aſtronomers had done nothing that could be ſerviceable to either *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy* in their Determination of the *celeſtial* Motions; If even *Thales* could give but a rude Account of the Motions; If before *Hipparchus* there could ſcarce be ſaid to be ſuch a Science as Aſtronomy, how can it be imagined that *Chiron*, who moſt probably lived 1100 Years before *Hipparchus*, and almoſt 3000 Years ago, ſhould have really left a moſt difficult Point of Aſtronomy ſo exactly calculated and adjuſted, as to be a Foundation for us now to overturn by it all the hitherto received Chronology? If *Chiron*, and all the *Greeks* before and for 600 Years after his Time put together, could not tell when the Year began, and when it ended, without miſtaking above five Days and almoſt a quarter of a Day in every Year's Computation; can it be poſſible for *Chiron* to have ſettled the exact Time of Mid-ſummer and Mid-winter, of equal Day and Night in *Spring* and *Autumn*, with ſuch a *Mathematical* Exactneſs, as that at this Day

Day we can depend upon a ſuppoſed Calculation of his, to reject all that has hitherto been thought the true Chronology? As to our illuſtrious Author's Argument from the Lengths of Reigns, I might have obſerved, that it is introduced upon a Suppoſition which can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient Chronologers did not give us the ſeveral Reigns of their Kings, as they took them from authentic Records, but that they made the Lengths of them by artificial Computations calculated according to what they thought the Reigns of ſuch a number of Kings, as they had to ſet down, would at a *Medium* one with another amount to: This certainly never was Fact; but as *Acuſilaus*, a moſt ancient Hiſtorian mentioned by (r) our moſt illuſtrious Author, wrote his Genealogies out of Tables of Braſs; ſo it is by far moſt probable, that all the other *Genealogiſts*, who have given us the Lengths of the Lives or Reigns of their Kings or Heroes, took their Accounts either from Monuments, Stone-Pillars, or ancient Inſcriptions, or from other Antiquaries of unſuſpected Fidelity, who had faithfully examined ſuch Originals: But as I had no Occaſion to purſue this Fact, ſo I omitted the mentioning of it, thinking it would be ſufficient to defend my ſelf againſt our learned Author's *Scheme*, to ſhew, that the Lengths of the Kings Reigns, which he ſuppoſed ſo much to exceed the Courſe of Nature, would not really appear to do ſo, if we conſider what the Scriptures repreſent to be the Lengths of Men's Lives and

(r) Chronol. p. 46.

of

of Generations in thoſe Ages which theſe Reigns belong to. As to the ancient Empire of *Aſſyria*, I ſubmit what I have offered about it to the Reader.

After ſo large Digreſſions upon theſe Subjects, I cannot find Room to enter upon the Particulars which are contained in the following Sheets. I wiſh none of them may want a large Apology; but that what I now offer the Public may meet with the ſame Favour as my former Volume, which if it does, I ſhall endeavour, as faſt as the Opportunities I have will enable me, and my other Engagements permit, in two Volumes more to finiſh the remaining Parts of this Undertaking.

Shelton. Norf.
Dec. 10. 1729.



ERRATA.

Page 15, Line 21, *for* She *read* He.
Page 67, l. 8, *for* chuſe *read* chaſe.
Page 70, l. 19, *for* Tax or Income, *read* or Tax-Income.
Page 73, l. 23, *after*, that his Children, *add*, who continued with him.
Page 147, l. 2, *for* twenty two Years *read* two hundred and twenty two Years.
Page 266, l. 4, *for* but *read* not.
Page 346, l. 1, *after* defend, *add* it.
Page 370, l. 26, *for* Tabernacles *read* Tabernacle.
Page 409, l. 20, *for* preſcibre *read* preſcribe.
Page 419, l. 14, *for* Diameter *read* Dimeter.
Page 512, in Not. *for* παρέχειν *read* παρεσχῆσαι.
Page 514, l. 5, *dele* firſt.
Page 518, l. 18, *after* Idolatries, *add*, in many Nations.
Page 485, l. 26, *for* Truths *read* Truth.

The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

BOOK VI.

WHEN *Abram* was upon (*a*) his Entrance into *Egypt*, he was full of Thoughts of the Evils that might befal him in a ſtrange Land; and conſidering the Beauty of his Wife, he was afraid that the King, or ſome powerful Perſon of the Country, might fall in Love with her, and kill him in order to marry her: He therefore deſired her to call him Brother. They had not been long in *Egypt*, before the Beauty of *Sarai* was much talked of, and ſhe

(*a*) Gen. xii. 11.

was had to Court, and the King of *Egypt* had Thoughts of marrying her; but in ſome Time he found out that ſhe was *Abram*'s Wife: Hereupon he ſent for him, and expoſtulated with him the ill Conſequences that might have happened from the Method he had taken, and in a very generous Manner he reſtored *Sarai*, and ſuffered *Abram* to leave his Country, and to carry with him all that belonged to him. *Abram*'s Stay in *Egypt* was about three Months: The Part of *Egypt* he travelled into, was the Land of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, for this bordered on *Arabia* and *Philiſtia*, from whence *Abram* journeyed, and his coming hither was about the 10th Year of the 5th King of this Country; for *Menes* or *Mizraim* being, as has been before ſaid, King of all *Egypt* until *A. M.* 1943, and the Reigns of the three next Kings of lower *Egypt* taking up [according to Sir *John Marſham*'s Tables of them] 133 Years, the 10th Year of their Succeſſor will carry us to *A. M.* 2086, which was the Year in which *Abram* came to *Egypt* (*a*).

After *Abram* came out of *Egypt*, he returned into *Canaan*, and came to the Place where he formerly made his firſt Stop (‡) between *Bethel* and *Hai*; and here he offered a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving for the happy Events of his Travels.

(*a*) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 275. (‡) Gen. xiii.

Lot

Lot and *Abram* had hitherto lived together; but by this Time their Subſtance was ſo much increaſed, that they found it inconvenient to be near to one another: Their Cattel (*b*) mingled, and their Herdsmen quarrelled, and *the Land was not able to bear them*; their Stocks, when together, required a larger Tract of Ground to feed and ſupport them, than they could take up, without interfering with the Property of the Inhabitants of the Land in which they ſojourned. They agreed therefore to ſeparate: The Land of *Canaan* had ſpare Room ſufficient for *Abram*, and the Plains of *Jordan* for *Lot*, and ſo upon *Lot*'s chuſing to remove towards *Jordan*, *Abram* agreed to continue where he was, and thus they parted. After *Lot* was gone from him, God commanded *Abram* to lift up his Eyes (*c*) and view the Country of *Canaan*, and promiſed that the whole of it ſhould be given to his *Seed for ever*, and that his Deſcendants ſhould exceedingly flouriſh and multiply in it: Soon after this *Abram* (*d*) removed his Tent, and dwelt in the Plain of *Mamre* in *Hebron*, and there he built an Altar to the Lord. His Setling at *Mamre* might be about *A. M.* 2091.

About this Time *Abram* became an Inſtrument of great Service to the King in whoſe Dominions he ſojourned. The *Aſ-*

(*b*) Gen. xiii. 7. (*c*) Ver. 14. (*d*) Ver. 18.

Syrian Empire, as we have obſerved, had in theſe Times extended itſelf over the adjacent and remote Countries, and brought the little Nations in *Aſia* under Tribute and Subjection. The Seat of this Empire was at this Time at *Elam* in *Perſia*, and *Chedorlaomer* was King of it; for to him the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and of the three other Nations mentioned by *Moſes* (*e*) had been in Subjection: They had *ſerved him twelve Years*, but *in the thirteenth they rebelled* (*f*). We meet no where in Prophane Hiſtory the Name *Chedorlaomer*, nor any of *Moſes*'s Names of the Kings that were confederate with him; but I have formerly obſerved how this might be occaſioned. *Cteſias*, from whom the Prophane Hiſtorians took the Names of theſe Kings, did not uſe their Original *Aſſyrian* Names in his Hiſtory; but rather ſuch as he found in the *Perſian* Records, or as the *Greek* Language offered inſtead of them.

If we conſider about what Time of *Abram*'s Life this Affair happened; (and we muſt place (*g*) it about his 84th or 85th Year, *i. e.* A. M. 2093) it will be eaſy to ſee who was the ſupreme King of the *Aſſyrian* Empire at the Time here ſpoken

(*e*) Gen. xiv. 4. (*f*) ibid. (*g*) *i. e.* about a Year or two before the Birth of *Iſhmael*, who was born when *Abram* was 86. Gen. xvi. 16.

of.

of. *Ninyas* the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* began his Reign *A. M.* 2059 (*h*), and he reigned 38 Years (*i*), ſo that the Year of this Tranſaction falls four Years before his Death. *Ninyas* therefore was the *Chedorlaomer* of *Moſes*, Head of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and *Amraphel* was his Deputy at *Babylon* in *Shinaar*, and *Arioch* and *Tidal* his Deputies over ſome other adjacent Countries. It is remarkable, that *Ninyas* firſt appointed under him ſuch Deputies (*k*), and no Abſurdity in *Moſes* to call them Kings; for it is obſervable from what *Iſaiah* hinted afterwards (*l*), that the *Aſſyrian* boaſted his Deputy-Princes to be equal to Royal Governours, *Are not my Princes altogether Kings?* The great Care of Kings in theſe Ages was to build Cities; and thus we find almoſt every new King erecting a new Seat of his Empire; *Ninus* fixed at *Nineveh*, *Semiramis* at *Babylon*, and *Ninyas* at *Elam*; and from hence it happened in after-Ages, that *Cteſias*, when he came to write the *Aſſyrian* Antiquities, found the Names of their ancient Kings amongſt the Royal Records of *Perſia*, which he would hardly have done, if ſome of their early Monarchs had not had their Reſidence in this Country. *Ninyas* therefore was the *Chedorlaomer* of

(*h*) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 187.
(*i*) Euſeb. in Chron.
(*k*) Diodor. Sic. l. 2.
(*l*) Iſaiah x. 8.

Moſes, and theſe Kings of *Canaan* had been ſubject to him for twelve Years: In the thirteenth Year they endeavoured to recover their Liberty; but within a Year after their attempting it, (which is a Space of Time that muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, before *Chedorlaomer* could hear at *Elam* of their Revolt, and ſummon his Deputies with an Army to attend him) *in the fourteenth Year*, the King of *Elam* with his Deputy-Princes, the Governor of *Shinaar*, and of *Ellaſar*, and of the other Nations ſubject to him, brought an Army, and over-ran the Kingdoms in and round about the Land of *Canaan*. He ſubdued the *Rephaims*, who inhabited the Land afterwards called the Kingdom of *Baſhan*, ſituated between *Gilead* and *Hermon*, the *Uzzims* between *Arnon* and *Damaſcus*, the *Emmims* who inhabited what was afterwards called the Land of *Ammon*, the *Horites* from Mount *Seir* to *El-paran*, and then he ſubdued the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites*, and laſt of all came to Battle with the King of *Sodom* and the King of *Gomorrah*, and the King of *Admah*, and the King of *Zeboiim*, and the King of *Bela* or *Zoar* in the Valley of *Siddim*, and obtained a compleat and entire Conqueſt over them. *Lot*, who at this Time dwelt in *Sodom*, ſuffered in this Action; for he and all his Family and Subſtance was taken by the Enemy, and in great Danger of being

ing carried away into Captivity, had not *Abram* very fortunately reſcued him. The Force that *Abram* could raiſe was but ſmall: Three hundred and eighteen *trained* Servants were his whole Retinue, and with theſe he purſued the Enemy unto *Dan*. We do not read that *Abram* attacked the whole *Aſſyrian* Army; without Doubt that would have been an Attempt too great for the little Company which he commanded; but coming up with them in the Night (*m*), he artfully divided his Attendants into two Companies, with one of which moſt probably he attack'd thoſe that were appointed to guard the Captives and Spoil, and with the other made the Appearance of a Force ready to attempt the whole Body of the Enemy. The *Aſſyrians* ſurprized at finding a new Enemy, and pretty much harraſſed with obtaining their numerous Victories, and fatigued in their late Battle, not knowing the Strength that now attacked them, retired and fled before them: *Abram* purſued (*n*) them unto *Hobah* on the Left Hand of *Damaſcus*, and being by that time Maſter of the Priſoners and Spoil, he did not think fit to preſs on any further, or to follow the Enemy until the Day-Light might diſcover the Weakneſs of his Forces, and ſo he returned back, having reſcued his Brother *Lot, and his Goods*,

(*m*) Gen. xiv. 15. (*n*) Ibid.

and the Women (*o*) *and the People*, that were taken Captive. We hear no more of the *Aſſyrian* Army; moſt probably they returned Home, with Deſigns to be ſo reinforced as to come another Year ſufficiently prepared to make a more compleat Conqueſt of the Kingdoms of *Canaan*; but *Ninyas* or *Chedorlaomer* dying ſoon after this, the new King might have other Deſigns upon his Hands, and ſo this might be laid aſide and neglected. When *Abram* returned with the Captives and the Spoil, the King of *Sodom* and the King of *Salem* (*p*) went out to meet him with great Ceremony: *Melchizedec King of Salem was the Prieſt of the moſt High God* (*q*), and for that Reaſon *Abram* gave him the Tenth of the Spoil: The Remainder he returned to the King of *Sodom*, refuſing to be himſelf a Gainer by receiving any Part of what this victorious Enterprize had gotten him.

God Almighty continued his Favour to *Abram*, and in diverſe and ſundry Manners, ſometimes by the Appearance of Angels, at other Times by audible Voices, or by remarkable Dreams, declared to him in what Manner he deſigned to bleſs his Poſterity, and to raiſe them in the World. *Abram* at this Time had no Son, but upon his deſiring one, he received not only

(*o*) Gen. xiv. 16. (*p*) Ver. 17. (*q*) Ver. 18.

a

a Promiſe of a Son, but was informed, that his Poſterity ſhould be ſo numerous as to be compared to the very Stars of Heaven (*r*). *Abram* was ſo ſincerely diſpoſed to believe all the Intimations and Promiſes which God thought fit to give him, that it was *counted to him for Righteouſneſs* (*s*), that he obtained by it great Favour and Acceptance with God; ſo that God was pleaſed to give him a ſtill further Diſcovery of what ſhould befal him and his Deſcendants: He was ordered to offer a ſolemn Sacrifice (*t*), and at the going down of the Sun a deep Sleep fell upon him, and it was revealed to him in a Dream (*u*), that He himſelf ſhould die in Peace in a good old Age; but that his Deſcendants ſhould for four hundred Years be but Strangers in a Land not their own, and ſhould ſuffer Hardſhips, even Bondage; but that after this the Nation that had oppreſſed them ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed, and that they ſhould be brought out of all their Difficulties in a very rich and flouriſhing Condition, and that in the fourth Generation they ſhould return again into *Canaan*, and take Poſſeſſion of it; that they could not have it ſooner, becauſe *the Iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full* (*w*). God Almighty could foreſee, that the *Amorites*

(*r*) Gen. xv. 5. (*s*) Ver. 6. (*t*) Ver. 9.
(*u*) Ver. 12. (*w*) Ver. 16.

would

would by that time have ran into ſuch an exceſs of Sin, as to deſerve the ſevere Expulſion from the Land of *Canaan*, which was afterwards appointed for them; but He would in no wiſe order their Puniſhment, until they ſhould have filled up the meaſure of their Iniquities ſo as to deſerve it. After *Abram* awoke from this Dream, a Fire kindled miraculouſly (*x*) and conſumed his Sacrifice, and God covenanted with him to give to his Seed all the Land of *Canaan* from the River of *Egypt* to the *Euphrates* (*y*).

Ten Years after *Abram*'s Return into *Canaan*, (*z*) in the 86th Year (*a*) of his Life, *A. M.* 2094, He had a Son by *Hagar* the *Egyptian*, *Sarai*'s Maid. *Sarai* her ſelf had no Children, and expecting never to have any, had given her Maid to *Abram* to be his Wife, (*b*) to prevent his dying Childleſs. *Abram* was exceedingly rejoiced at the Birth of his Son, and looked upon him as the Heir promiſed him by God, who was to be the Father of the numerous People that were to deſcend from him; but about thirteen Years after *Iſhmael*'s Birth (for ſo was the Child named) God appeared unto *Abram* (*c*). The Perſon who appeared to him, called

(*x*) Gen. xv. 17. *See* Vol. I. p. 298. (*y*) Ver. 18.
(*z*) Chap. xvi. ver. 3. (*a*) Ver. 16. (*b*) Ver. 3.
(*c*) Gen. xvii. ver. 1.

him-

himſelf the Almighty God (*d*), and can be conceived to be no other Perſon than our Bleſſed Saviour (*e*): As he afterwards thought fit to *take upon him our Fleſh*, and to dwell amongſt the *Jews*, (*f*) in the manner related in the Goſpels; ſo he appeared to their Fathers in the form of Angels in the firſt Ages of the World, to reveal his Will to them, as far as he then thought fit to have it imparted: In the firſt and moſt early Days, he took the Name of *God-Almighty*, by this Name he was known to *Abraham*, to *Iſaac*, and to *Jacob* (*g*), afterwards he called himſelf by a Name more fully expreſſing his *Eſſence* and Deity, and was known to *Moſes* by the Name *JEHOVAH.* (*h*).

God Almighty at this Appearance unto *Abram* entered into Covenant with him, promiſed him a Son to be born of *Sarai*, repeated to him the Promiſe of *Canaan* before made to him, and gave him freſh Aſſurances of the Favours and Bleſſings deſigned him and his Poſterity; but withal acquainted him, that the Deſcendants of the Son whom *Sarai* ſhould bear, ſhould be Heirs of the Bleſſings promiſed to him: That *Iſhmael* ſhould indeed be a flouriſhing and happy Man, that twelve

(*d*) Gen. xvii. 1. (*e*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. p. 292. (*f*) John i. 14. (*g*) Gen. xvii. 1. xxviii. 3. xxxv. 11. xlviii. 3. xlix. 25. Exodus vi. 3. (*h*) Exodus vi. 3. & iii. 14.

Princes

Princes ſhould deſcend from him; but that the Covenant made at this time ſhould be eſtabliſhed with *Iſaac*, whom *Sarai* ſhould bear about a Year after the time of this Promiſe. *Abram*'s name was now changed into *Abraham*, and *Sarai*'s into *Sarah*, and Circumciſion was enjoined him and his Family (*i*).

The ſame divine Appearance, for *Abraham* called him *the Judge of all the Earth* (*k*), accompanied with two Angels, was ſome little time after this ſeen again by him in the Plains of *Mamre*, as he ſat in his Tent Door in the heat of the Day. They came into *Abraham*'s Tent, and were entertained by him, and eat with him (*l*), and confirmed to him again the Promiſe that had been made him of a Son by *Sarah*; and after having ſpent ſome time with him, the two Angels (*m*) went towards *Sodom*; but the *Lord* continued with *Abraham*, and told him how he deſigned to deſtroy in a moſt terrible manner that unrighteous City. *Abraham* was here ſo highly favoured as to have leave to commune with God, and was permitted to intercede for the Men of *Sodom* (*n*). As ſoon as the Lord had left communing with *Abraham*, he went his way, and *Abraham* returned to his

(*i*) Gen. xvii. (*k*) Gen. xviii. 25. (*l*) Ver. 8.
(*m*) Ver. 12. (*n*) Ver. 23, &c.

Place

Place (*o*): The two Angels before-mentioned came to *Sodom* at Even, made a Viſit to *Lot*, and ſtaid in his Houſe all Night; (*p*) they were offered a monſtrous Violence by the wicked Inhabitants of *Sodom*, upon which they acquainted *Lot* upon what Account they were ſent thither; and after they had ordered him, his Wife and Children and all his Family to leave the Place, about the time of the Sun-riſing, or a little after, (*q*) *The Lord rained upon* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, and upon ſome other Cities in the Plain, *Fire and Brimſtone from the Lord out of Heaven* (*r*), and wholly deſtroyed all the Inhabitants of them. *Lot*'s Wife was unhappily loſt in this Calamity; whether ſhe only looked back, which was contrary to the expreſs Command of the Angel to them (*s*), or whether it may be inferred from our Saviour's mention of her (*t*), that ſhe actually turn'd back, being unwilling to leave *Sodom*, and to go and live at *Zohar*, God was pleaſed to make her a Monument of his Vengeance for her Diſobedience, ſhe was turned into a Pillar of Salt (*u*). *Lot*'s Sons-in-Law, who had married his Daughters, refuſed to go along with him out of *Sodom* (*x*), ſo that they

(*o*) Ver. 33. (*p*) Chap. xix. (*q*) Ver. 23.
(*r*) Ver. 24. (*s*) Ver. 17. (*t*) Luke xvii. 32.
(*u*) Gen. xix. 26. (*x*) Ver. 14.

and

and their Wives periſhed in the City: Two of his Daughters, who lived with him (*y*) and were unmarried (*z*) went to *Zoar*, and were preſerved: *Lot* lived at *Zoar* but a little while; for he was afraid that *Zoar* might ſome time or other be deſtroyed alſo (*a*), and therefore he retired with his two Daughters, and lived in a Cave upon a Mountain, at a diſtance from all Converſe with the World. His Daughters grew uneaſy at this ſtrange Retirement, and thinking that they ſhould both die unmarried, from their Father's continuing reſolved to go on in this courſe of Life, and ſo their Father's Name and Family become extinct (*b*), they intrigued together, and impoſing Wine upon their Father, they went to Bed to him (*c*), and were with Child by him, and had each of them a Son, *Moab* and *Ammon*. The two Children grew up, and in time came to have Families, and from theſe two Sons of *Lot* the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites* were deſcended.

About this time *Abraham* removed Southward, and ſojourned between *Cadeſh* and *Shur* at *Gerar*, a City of the *Philiſtins*: here he (*d*) pretended *Sarah* to be his Siſter, as he had done formerly in *Egypt*; for he thought the *Philiſtins* to

(*y*) Ver. 15. (*z*) Ver. 8. (*a*) Ver. 30. (*b*) Ver. 31, 32. (*c*) Ver. 33, 34, 35. (*d*) Gen. xx.

be

be a wicked People. *Abimelech* the King of *Philiſtia* intended to take *Sarah* to be his Wife; but it pleaſed God to inform him in a Dream, that ſhe belonged to *Abraham*. *Abimelech* appears to have been a Man of eminent Virtue, and the Deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* had made a deep Impreſſion in him: He appealed to God for the Integrity of his Heart, and the Innocency of his Intentions: He reſtored *Sarah* to her Husband, and gave him Sheep, Oxen, Men-Servants and Women-Servants, and a thouſand Pieces of Silver, and free Liberty to live where he would in his Kingdom, and he reproved *Sarah* for concealing her being married; obſerving to her, that if ſhe had not diſowned her Husband, ſhe had been protected from any other Perſon's fixing his Eyes upon her to deſire her: *He is to thee*, ſaid he, (*f*) *a covering of the Eyes to* or of *all that are with thee, and with all* others; *i. e.* he ſhall cover or protect thee, from any of thoſe, that are of thy Family or Acquaintance, or that are not, from looking at thee to deſire thee for their Wife.

A Year was now accompliſhed, and, *A. M.* 2108, a Son was born of *Sarah* (*r*), and was circumciſed on the eighth Day, and named *Iſaac*. When he grew old e-

(*f*) Gen. xx. 16. (*g*) Chap. xxi.

nough

nough to be weaned, *Abraham* made a very extraordinary Feaſt: *Iſhmael* laughed at ſeeing ſuch a Stir made about this (*h*) Infant: *Sarah* was ſo provoked at it, that ſhe would have both him and his Mother turned out of Doors. *Abraham* had the Tenderneſs of (*i*) a Father to his Child; He loved *Iſhmael*, and was loath to part with him, and therefore apply'd himſelf to God for Direction: God was pleaſed to aſſure him, that he would take Care of *Iſhmael*, and ordered him not to let his Affection for either *Hagar* or her Son prevent his doing what *Sarah* requeſted, intimating to him that *Iſhmael* ſhould for his Sake be the Parent of a Nation of People; but that his Portion and Inheritance was not to be in that Land, which was to be given to the Deſcendants (*k*) of *Iſaac*, and that therefore it was proper for him to be ſent away, to receive the Bleſſings deſign'd him in another Place. *Abraham* hereupon called *Hagar*, and gave her Water and other neceſſary Proviſions, and ordered her to go away into the World from him, and to take her Son along with her: Hereupon ſhe went away, and wandered in the Wilderneſs of *Beerſheba* (*l*).

Some of the Commentators are in Pain about *Abraham*'s Character (*m*), for his Se-

(*h*) Gen. xxi. 9. (*i*) Ver. 10. (*k*) Ver. 12, 13.
(*l*) Ver. 14. (*m*) Pool's Synopſis in loc.

verity

verity to *Hagar* and *Iſhmael* in the Caſe before us. And it may perhaps be thought, that the Direction which God is ſaid to have given in this particular, may rather ſilence the Objection, than anſwer the Difficulties of it; but a little Conſideration will be ſufficient to clear it. It would indeed, as the Circumſtances of the World now are, ſeem a very rigorous Proceeding, to ſend a Woman into the wide World with a little Child in her Arms, with only a Bottle of Water, and ſuch a Quantity of Bread as ſhe could carry out of a Family, where ſhe had been long maintained in Plenty, not to mention her having been a Wife to the Maſter of it; but it muſt be remarked, that tho' the Ambiguity of our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, which ſeems to intimate, that *Hagar*, when ſhe went from *Abraham*, *took the Child upon her Shoulder* (*x*), and afterwards that *ſhe caſt the Child under* (*y*) *one of the Shrubs*, does indeed repreſent *Hagar*'s Circumſtances as very calamitous; yet it is evident, that they were far from being ſo full of Diſtreſs, as this Repreſentation makes them. For, 1. *Iſhmael* was not an Infant at the Time of their going from *Abraham*, but at leaſt 15 or 16 Years old. *Iſhmael* was born when *Abraham* was eighty ſix (*z*), *Iſaac* when he was an hundred (*a*); ſo that *Iſhmael* was

(*x*) Gen. xxi. 14. (*y*) Ver. 15. (*z*) Gen. xvi. 16.
(*a*) Ch. xxi. ver. 5.

fourteen at the Birth of *Iſaac*, and *Iſaac* was perhaps two Years old when *Sarah* weaned him, and ſo *Iſhmael* might be ſixteen when *Abraham* ſent away him and his Mother. *Hagar* therefore had not a little Child to provide for, but a Youth capable of being a Comfort, and Aſſiſtant to her. 2. The Circumſtances of the World were ſuch at this Time, that it was eaſy for any Perſon to find a ſufficient and comfortable Livelyhood in it. Mankind were ſo few, that there was in every Country Ground to ſpare; ſo that any one, that had Flocks and a Family, might be permitted to ſettle any where, and feed and maintain them, and in a little time to grow and encreaſe and become very wealthy: or the Creatures of the World were ſo numerous, that a Perſon that had no Flocks or Herds, might in the Wilderneſſes, and uncultivated Grounds, kill enough of all ſorts for Maintenance, without injuring any one, or being moleſted for ſo doing: And thus *Iſhmael* dwelt in the Wilderneſs, and became an Archer *(b)*. Or they might let themſelves for Hire to thoſe who had great Stocks of Cattle to look after, and find an eaſy and ſufficient Maintenance in their Service; as good as *Hagar* and *Iſhmael* had had even with *Abraham*. We ſee no Reaſon to think that *Hagar* met

(*b*) Ver. 20.

with

with many Difficulties in providing for her ſelf, or her Son: She in a few Years ſaw him in ſo comfortable a way of living, as to get him a Wife out of another Country to come and live with him: *She took him a Wife out of the Land of* Egypt *(c)*. 3. *Iſhmael*, and conſequently *Hagar* with him, fared no worſe, than the younger Children uſed to fare in thoſe Days, when they were diſmiſſed in order to their ſettling in the World; for we find that in this manner the Children which *Abraham* had by *Keturah* were dealt by *(d)*: *Abraham gave all that he had unto Iſaac*; *but unto the Sons of the Concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave Gifts, and ſent them away from Iſaac his Son*, while he yet lived, *Eaſtward, unto the Eaſt-Country*: And much in this manner even *Jacob*, who was to be Heir of the Bleſſing, was ſent away from his Father. *Eſau* was the eldeſt Son, and as ſuch was to inherit his Father's Subſtance; and accordingly when his Father died, he came from *Seir* to take what was gotten for him by his Father in the Land of *Canaan (e)*; for We have no Reaſon to imagine that *Jacob* received any thing at *Iſaac*'s Death; his Brother left him only his own Subſtance to encreaſe with in the Land; and yet we find he had

(c) Ver. 21. (d) Chap. xxv. ver. 6. (e) Chap. xxxvi. ver. 6.

enough to maintain his Wives and a numerous Family, and all this the mere Product of his own Industry: When he first went from his Father, he was sent a long Journey to *Padan-aram*; we read of no Servants nor Equipage going with him, nor any Accommodations prepared him for his Journey; he was sent, as we now-a-days might say, to seek his Fortune, only instructed to seek it amongst his Kinsfolk and Relations *(f)*; and he went to seek it upon so uncertain a Foundation, that we find him most earnestly praying to God to be *with* him *in the Way that he was to go*, and not to suffer him to want the Necessaries of Life to support him; but to *give him Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on (g)*; and yet we see by letting himself for Hire to *Laban*, he both married his Daughters, and in a few Years became the Master of a very considerable Substance *(h)*.

4. We mistake therefore, not duly considering the Circumstances of these Times, in imagining *Hagar* and *Ishmael* to have been such Sufferers in *Abraham*'s dismissing them. At first it might perhaps be disputed, whether *Ishmael* the first-born, or *Isaac* the Son of his Wife, should be *Abraham*'s Heir; but after this Point was determined, and God himself had declared that in *Isaac Abraham*'s *Seed* was to be

(*f*) Chap. xxviii. (*g*) Ver. 20. (*h*) Gen. xxx. 43.

called

called (i), a Proviſion was to be made, that *Iſhmael* ſhould go and plant a Family of his own, or he muſt have been *Iſaac*'s Bond-man or Servant, if he had continued in *Abraham*'s Family; ſo that here was only that Proviſion made for him, which the then Circumſtances of the World directed Fathers to make for their younger Children, and not any Hardſhip put upon either *Hagar* or her Son; and tho' their wandring in the Wilderneſs until they wanted Water had almoſt deſtroyed them, yet that was an Accident only, and no Fault of *Abraham*'s; and after it pleaſed God to extricate them out of this Difficulty, we have no Reaſon to imagine, that they met with any further Hardſhips; but being freed from Servitude, they eaſily, by taking wild Beaſts and taming them, and by ſowing Corn gat a Stock, and became in a few Years a very flouriſhing Family.

Abimelech ſaw the encreaſing Proſperity of *Abraham*, and fearing that he would in Time grow too powerful a Subject, made him ſwear, that He would never injure him or his People. Some little Diſputes had ariſen between *Abimelech*'s Servants and *Abraham*'s about a Well, which *Abraham*'s Servants had digged; but *Abimelech* and *Abraham* after a little Expoſtulation, quickly came to a good Underſtand-

(i) Chap. xxi. ver. 12.

ing, and both of them made a Covenant, and ſware unto each other *(k)*. *Abraham* continued ſtill to flouriſh: his Son *Iſaac* was now near a Man, when it pleaſed God to make a very remarkable Tryal of *Abraham*'s Fidelity: He required him to offer his Son *Iſaac (l)* for a Burnt-offering: This without doubt muſt at firſt be a great Shock to him: He had before been directed to ſend away *Iſhmael*, and had been aſſured that the Bleſſings promiſed to his Poſterity were not to take Place in any Part of that Branch of his Family; but that *Iſaac* ſhould be the Son of the Promiſe, and that his Deſcendants ſhould be the Heirs of the Happineſs and Proſperity that God had promiſed to him, and now God was pleaſed to require him with his own Hands to deſtroy this *his Son, his only Son Iſaac*. How could theſe things be? What would become of God's Promiſes, if this Child, to whom they were appropriated, were thus to periſh? The Writer of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* gives a very elegant Account, of the Method by which *Abraham* made himſelf eaſy in this Particular *(m)*: *By Faith* (ſays he) *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Iſaac: And he that had received the Promiſes, offered up his only begotten Son, of whom*

(*k*) Gen. xxi. 22, &c. (*l*) Gen. xxii. (*m*) Heb. xi. 27, 28, 29.

it was ſaid, that in Iſaac ſhall thy Seed be called; accounting that God was able to raiſe him up even from the Dead, from whence alſo he received him in a Figure. He conſidered, that God had given him this Son in a very extraordinary manner; his Wife, who bare him, being paſt the uſual Time of having Children (*n*); and that the thus giving him a Son, was in a manner raiſing him one from the Dead; for it was cauſing a Mother to have one, who was naturally ſpeaking *dead* in this Reſpect, and not to be conceived capable of bearing; that God Almighty could as certainly raiſe him really from the Dead, as at firſt cauſe him to be born of ſo aged a Parent: By this way of thinking he convinced himſelf, that his Faith was not unreaſonable, and then fully determined to act according to it, and ſo took his Son and went to the Place appointed, built the Altar, and laid his Son upon the Wood, and took the Knife, with a full Reſolution to kill the Victim; but here his Hand was ſtopped by a diſtinct and audible Voice from Heaven: The Angel of the Lord called to him out of Heaven and, ſaid, *Abraham, Abraham; and he ſaid, Here am I. And he ſaid, Lay not thine Hand upon the Lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: For now I know that thou feareſt*

(*n*) Hebrews xi. 11.

God, ſeeing thou haſt not with-held thy Son, thine only Son from me (o). Abraham hereupon looked about, and ſeeing a Ram caught in a Thicket, he took it, and offered that inſtead of his Son *(p)*: God was pleaſed in an extraordinary manner to approve of his doing ſo, and by another Voice from Heaven, confirmed to him the Promiſes, which had been before made him *(q)*. *Abraham* being deeply affected with this ſurprizing Incident, called the Place *Jehovah jireh* in remembrance of it; and there was a Place in the Mountain called by that Name many Ages after *(r)*. *Abraham* ſoon after this went to live at *Beerſheba*.

There are ſome Writers, who remark upon this intended Sacrifice of *Abraham*'s in the following manner. They hint, that He was under no Surprize at receiving an Order to perform it *(ſ)*, nor do they

(o) Gen. xxii. 11. (p) Ver. 13: (q) Ver. 16, 17, 18. (r) Our Engliſh Tranſlation of the 14th ver. is very obſcure. *As it is ſaid to this Day, in the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.* If we take the Word יֵאָמֵר to be a future Tenſe, the whole Verſe may be tranſlated thus. *And Abraham called the Name of the Place Jehovah jireh, becauſe it will be ſaid* [or told hereafter that] *this Day the Lord was ſeen in the Mountain.* The LXX favour this Tranſlation. They render the Place, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Κύριος εἶδεν· ἵνα εἴπωσιν σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη.——or the *Hebrew* Words may be engliſhed Verbatim thus: *And Abraham called the Name of that Place Jehovah jireh, which* [i. e. Place] *in the Mountain is called at this Day Jehovah-jireh.* (ſ) *Lord* Shaftsbury's Characteriſt. Vol. 3. Miſc. 2. *Sir* John Marſham Can. Chron. p. 76.

think

think that we have any reaſon to extol Him for this Particular, as if he had hereby ſhewn an uncommon Readineſs and Devotion for God's Service: For they ſay, that if He had really ſacrificed his Son, he would have done only a Thing very common in the Times which he lived in; For that it was Cuſtomary, as *Philo* repreſents *(t)*, for private Perſons, Kings and Nations to offer theſe Sacrifices. The barbarous Nations we are told *(u)*, for a long time thought it an act of Religion, and a Thing acceptable to the Gods, to ſacrifice their Children. And *Philo-Biblius* informs us, that in ancient Times it was cuſtomary for Kings of Cities, and Heads of Nations, upon imminent Dangers, to offer the Son, whom they moſt loved, a Sacrifice for the public Calamity, to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods *(w)*. And it is remarked from *Porphyry*, that the *Phœnicians*, when in Danger of War, Famine, or Peſtilence, uſed to chooſe by public Suffrage, ſome one Perſon, whom they moſt loved, and ſacrifice him to *Saturn*: And *Sanchoniathon*'s *Phœnician* Hiſtory, which *Philo-Biblius* tranſlated into *Greek*, is, he ſays, full of theſe Sacrifices. Now from this ſeeming Citation of diverſe Writers, one would expect a variety of In-

(*t*) Philo Judæus Lib. de Abraham. (*u*) Id. ibid.
(*w*) See Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4. c. 16.

ſtances

ſtances of theſe Sacrifices before *Abraham*'s Days; but after all the Forwardneſs of theſe Writers in their Aſſertions upon this Point, they produce but one particular Inſtance, and that one moſt probably a Miſrepreſentation of *Abraham*'s intended Sacrifice, and not a true Account of any Sacrifice really performed by any Perſon that ever lived in the World: Or if this may be controverted, and it may be thought, that the Perſon they mention, did really offer the Sacrifice they give Account of; yet it muſt appear from the Hiſtorian from whom they have it, that he did not live earlier, nor ſo early as *Abraham*, and therefore his Sacrifice might be deſigned in Imitation of *Abraham*'s, and not *Abraham*'s in Conformity to any known Practice of the Nations he lived in.

The Inſtance they offer is this. They ſay, that *Chronus*, whom the *Phœnicians* call *Iſrael* (*x*), and who after his Death was deify'd, and became the Star called *Saturn*, when he reign'd in that Country, had an only Son by the Nymph *Anobret*, a Native of the Land, whom he called *Jeud* (that Word ſignifying in the *Phœnician* Language *only-begotten*) and that when he was in extreme Peril of War, he adorned his Son in the royal Ap-

(*x*) *Sir* John Marſham *writes it*, Ιλ, *and tranſlates it* Ilus, *but* Euſebius *writes it* Ισραὴλ.

pare

parel, and built an Altar with his own Hands, and ſacrificed him (*y*). *Philo-Biblius* from *Sanchoniathon* in another Place repreſents it thus; that *Chronus* upon the raging of a Famine and Peſtilence offered his only Son for a Burnt-Offering to his Father *Ouranus* (*z*): Now upon this Fact we may obſerve,

I. That the *Chronus* here mentioned was not more ancient than the Times of *Abraham*; for if any one conſults *Sanchoniathon*'s Account given us by *Philo* (*a*) he will find, that after *Sanchoniathon* has brought down his Genealogy to *Miſor*, i. e. to the *Mizraim* of *Moſes* (*b*), to whom he makes *Sydec* Cotemporary, He then informs us, that *Sydec* was Father of the *Dioſcuri*, *Cabiri* or *Corybantes*; and that κατὰ τέτες or in their Life-time (*c*) *Eliun* was born: *Ouranus* was Son of *Eliun*: *Ilus* or *Chronus* was Son of *Ouranus*: And thus, ſuppoſing this *Chronus* to be the Perſon who ſacrificed his only Son, it will be evident, that the Grandfather of this Perſon was born in the Life-time of the Sons of *Mizraim* the Grandſon of *Noah*, by his Son *Ham*; and paral-

(*y*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 4. c. 16. (*z*) Id. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (*a*) In Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

(*b*) *See* Vol. I. B. 1. (*c*) *This Expreſſion* κατὰ τέτες *implies* Eliun *to be younger than the* Corybantes. Abraham *was born in the* 43*d Year of the Reign of* Ninus, *and ſo* Euſebius *ſays he was born* κατὰ τέτον. Præf. ad Chronic.

lel

lel to this, *Nahor* the Grandfather of *Abraham* was born 342 Years before the Death of *Salah* the Son of *Arphaxad*, who was *Noah*'s Grandſon by his Son *Shem* (*d*). Or we may compute this Matter another way: *Mizraim* died *A. M.* 1943 (*e*), his Son *Taautus* lived 49 Years after *Mizraim*'s Death, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 1992. *Taautus* was cotemporary with the *Dioſcuri*; for they were ſaid to be Sons of one cotemporary with *Taautus*'s Father. *Abraham* was born *A. M.* 2008, *i. e.* only 16 Years after *Taautus*'s Death, ſo that *Abraham*'s Grandfather muſt have been long before the Deaths of theſe Men: And thus by both theſe Accounts *Ilus* or *Chronus* cannot be more ancient than *Abraham*, rather *Abraham* appears to have been more ancient than he. And this muſt be allowed to be more evidently true, if we conſider that it was not *Ilus* or *Chronus* the Son of *Ouranus* who made this Sacrifice of his only Son, but rather *Chronus*, who was called *Iſrael*, and was the Son of *Chronus* called *Ilus*, and therefore ſtill later by one Generation. *Philo-Biblius* in *Euſebius* does indeed hint, that *Chronus* offered his Son to his Father *Ouranus*, from whence it may be inferred, that the elder

(*d*) *This may eaſily be collected from* Moſes's *Account of the Births and Deaths of the* Poſt-diluvians. Gen. xi.

(*e*) *See* Vol. I. B. 4.

Chronus

Chronus or Son of *Ouranus* was the Sacrificer; but we muſt not take the Word Father in this ſtrict Senſe; for both ſacred and prophane Writers often mean by that Word, not the immediate Father, but the Head of any Family, tho' the Grandfather, or a ſtill more remote Anceſtor. Sir *John Marſham* aſſerts that no one but *Euſebius* called this Sacrificer *Iſrael*, that *Philo* wrote it *I l*, meaning *Ilus*, not *Iſrael*, and that *Euſebius* miſtook in thinking *I l* to be a ſhort way of writing *Iſrael*: But to this it may be anſwered, that *Ilus* could not be the Perſon that offered his only Son, becauſe *Ilus* had more Sons than one, for he had three Sons, *Chronus*, *Belus*, and *Apollo* (*f*). His Son *Chronus* had but one only begotten Son by *Anobret*, and this *Chronus* therefore was the Perſon who ſacrificed his only Son, as he was likewiſe the Perſon who circumciſed himſelf and Family (*g*). And thus *Euſebius*, in calling this *Chronus Iſrael*, only diſtinguiſhes him from his Father who was called *Ilus*; and if *Philo* did indeed write him *I l*, he could not mean *Ilus*, becauſe by his own Account of *Ilus*'s Children, he was not the Perſon that offered his only Son. The Perſon therefore whom theſe Writers mention upon this Occaſion, can in no wiſe

(*f*) Euſebius Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 38.
(*g*) Id. ibid.

ſerve

ſerve their Purpoſe; for if they will credit their Hiſtorian, he muſt be later than the Days of *Abraham*, and what He did, and what can be ſaid about him, will not prove theſe Sacrifices to have been cuſtomary in the Days of *Abraham*; but rather that the Heathen Nations, having a great Opinion of *Abraham* and his Religion, fell into this barbarous Practice of ſacrificing their Children, upon an Imagination, that he had ſacrificed *Iſaac*, and ſet them an Example. I need offer nothing further about *Sanchoniathon*'s *Chronus*, what is already ſaid will indiſputably prove him too modern to furniſh Objections and Cavils againſt *Abraham*'s Religion; however I cannot but think

II. That this Account of *Sanchoniathon*'s is really a Relation of *Abraham*'s intended Sacrifice of *Iſaac*, with only ſome Additions and Miſtakes, which the Heathen Writers frequently made in all their Relations. *Sanchoniathon*'s Hiſtory is long ago loſt, and the Fragments of it, which are preſerved in other Writers, are not intire as he wrote them, but have many Mixtures of falſe Hiſtory, Allegory, and Philoſophy, ſuch as the Son of *Thabio* and other Commentators upon his Work had a Fancy to add to him (*h*); and very probably, if we had *Sanchoniathon* himſelf, we

(*h*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 10. p. 39.

ſhould

ſhould not find him exact in Chronology or in the Facts which he related, ſo that we muſt not examine his Remains with too great a Strictneſs; but if we throw away what ſeems the Product of Allegory, Philoſophy, and miſtaken Hiſtory in his Remains, we may collect from him the following Particulars about *Chronus*, whom the *Phœnicians* called *Iſrael*. 1. He was the Son of a Father, who had three Children *(i)*, and ſo was *Abraham*. 2. *Chronus* had one only Son by his Wife *(k)*, and ſo had *Abraham*. 3. He had another Son, by another Perſon *(l)*, ſo had *Abraham*. 4. This *Chronus* circumciſed himſelf and Family *(m)*, ſo did *Abraham*. 5. *Chronus* ſacrificed his only Son *(n)*, ſo was *Abraham* reported to have done, by ſome of the Heathen Hiſtorians. 6. *Chronus*'s Son who was ſacrificed was named *Jehud (o)*, and thus *Iſaac* is called by *Moſes (p)*. 7. *Chronus* was by the *Phœnicians* called *Iſrael (q)*; here indeed is a ſmall Miſtake; *Iſrael* was the Name of *Abraham*'s Grandſon; but the Heathen Writers commit greater Errors in all their Accounts of the *Jewiſh* Affairs. They had a general Notion, that *Iſrael* was the Name of ſome

(*i*) Ibid. p. 38. (*k*) P. 40. (*l*) P. 38. (*m*) Ibid. (*n*) Ibid. & Lib. 4. c. 16. (*o*) P. 40. (*p*) Gen. xxii. 2. *God ſaid to Abraham, Take now thy Son, Jehud ka,* i. e. *thine only Son.* (*q*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 40. l. 4. c. 16.

one

one famous Anceſtor of the *Iſraelites*, but were not exact in fixing it upon the right Perſon. *Juſtin (r)*, after *Trogus Pompeius*, comes nearer the Truth than *Sanchoniathon*, but he miſtakes one Generation, and gives the Name of *Iſrael* to the Son of *Abraham*. Sir *John Marſham* hints ſome little Objections *(s)* againſt taking *Chronus* here ſpoken of to be *Abraham*, but I cannot think, that after what has been offered, they can want an Anſwer. The Hiſtory of *Sanchoniathon*'s *Chronus*, and *Moſes*'s *Abraham*, do evidently agree in ſo many Particulars, that there appears a far greater Probability of their being one and the ſame Perſon, than there does of the Truth of any Circumſtances hinted by *Sanchoniathon*, which may ſeem to make them differ one from the other.

Sarah was now 127 Years old, and died in *Kirjath-arba* in *Hebron*. *Abraham* hereupon *(t)* bought a Field, which had a Cave in it, of the Sons of *Heth*, and therein depoſited the Remains of his Wife. He began now to deſire to ſee his Son *Iſaac* married *(u)*, and therefore ſent the Head-Servant of his Houſe into *Padan-Aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, to chooſe a Wife for his Son from amongſt his Relations there. The Servant went with a Train and Equipage,

(r) Juſtin. l. 36. c. 2. (s) Can. Chron. p. 77.
(t) Gen. xxiii. (u) Chap. xxiv.

and

and carried Preſents ſuitable to the Wealth and Circumſtances of his Maſter *(w)*, and obtained for *Iſaac Rebekah* the Daughter of *Bethuel* the Son of *Nahor Abraham*'s Brother. *Iſaac* was 40 Years old when he married, and therefore married *A. M.* 2148.

After *Abraham* had thus married his Son to his Satisfaction, he took himſelf another Wife; her Name was *Keturah*; *(x)* he had ſeveral Children by her. *Zimran*, *Jockſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhback* and *Shuah*; he took care in his Life-time to ſend theſe Children into the World; *he gave them Gifts, and ſent them away, while he yet lived, from Iſaac his Son, eaſtward unto the Eaſt Country (y)*: And this is the Subſtance of what *Moſes* has given us, of the Life of *Abraham.*

It is very remarkable, that the Prophane Writers give us much the ſame Accounts of him. *Beroſus* indeed does not call him by his Name, but deſcribes a Perſon of his Character to be (z) ten Generations after the Flood, and ſo *Moſes* makes *Abraham*, computing him to be the tenth from *Noah*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* calls him by Name, and ſays that he came out

(w) Ver. 10. (x) Gen. xxv. (y) Ver. 6. (z) Euſeb. Præp Evang. l. 9. c. 16. Beroſus's *Words are*, Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτη γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ὢν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔμπειρος.

of the Country of the *Chaldees*, ſettled in *Canaan*, and upon Account of a Famine went into *Egypt (a)*. *Eupolemus* (*b*) agrees that *Abraham* was born at *Uria*[or *Ur*]of the *Chaldees*, that he came to live in *Phœnicia* (*c*); that ſome time after his ſettling here, the *Armenians* [or rather the *Aſſyrians*] overcame the *Phœnicians* and took Captive *Abraham*'s Nephew; that *Abraham* armed his Servants and reſcued him; that he was entertained in the ſacred City of *Argarize* by *Melchizedec* Prieſt of God, who was King there; that ſome time after, on Account of a Famine, he went into *Egypt* with his whole Family, and fixing there he called his Wife his Siſter; that the King of *Egypt* married her, but that he was forced by a Plague to conſult his Prieſts, and finding her to be *Abraham*'s Wife, he reſtored her. *Artapanus* another of the Heathen Writers does but juſt mention him; he ſays the *Jews* were at firſt called *Hermiuth*, afterwards *Hebrews* by *Abraham*, and that *Abraham* went into *Egypt (d)*, and afterwards returned into *Syria* again; but *Melo*, who wrote a Book againſt the *Jews*, and therefore was not likely to admit any Part of their Hiſtory, that could poſſibly be

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiquitat. l. 1 c. 8. Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. & ſup. (*b*) Id. c. 17. (*c*) *The Ancient Heathen Writers often call* Syria, Canaan *and* Phœnicia, *by the ſame Name.*
(*d*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18.

called

called in queſtion, gives a very large Account of *Abraham* (*e*). He relates, that his Anceſtors were driven from their native Country; that *Abraham* married two Wives, one of them of his own Country and Kindred, the other an *Egyptian*, who had been a Bond-woman; that of the *Egyptian* he had twelve Sons, who became twelve *Arabian* Kings (*f*); that of his Wife he had one Son only, whoſe Name in *Greek* is *Gelos* [which anſwers exactly to the *Hebrew* Word *Iſaac*]: after other Things interſperſed he adds, that *Abraham* was commanded by God to ſacrifice *Iſaac*; but juſt when he was going to kill him, he was ſtopped by an Angel, and offered a Ram inſtead of him. And as theſe Writers agree with *Moſes* in their Accounts of the Tranſactions of *Abraham*'s Life, ſo alſo it is remarkable that they give much the ſame Character of him; all of them allowing him to be eminent for his Virtue and Religion, and they add moreover, that he was a Perſon of the moſt extraordinary Learning and Wiſdom: He was δίκαιος καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ θεάνια ἐμπειρος, ſays *Beroſus* (*g*). *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* ſays, that his Name was famous all over *Syria*, and that he encreaſed the

(*e*) Id. ibid. c. 19. (*f*) *This is but a ſmall Miſtake; the Deſcendants of* Iſhmael *were* 12 *Kings*, Gen. xvii. 20. *and ſettled in* Arabia. (*g*) In loc. ſup. citat.

Fame and Reputation which he had acquired, by converſing with the moſt learned [λογιωτάτοις] of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, confuting their Errors, and perſuading them of the Truths of his own Religion, ſo that he was admired amongſt them *(h)* as a Perſon of the greateſt Wit and Genius, not only readily underſtanding a thing himſelf, but very happy in an Ability of convincing and perſuading others of the Truth of what he attempted to teach them. *Eupolemus* ſays, that in Eminence and Wiſdom he excelled all others, and that by his extraordinary Piety, or ſtrict Adherence to his Religion [ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὁρμήσαντα] he obtained the Favour of the Deity [διαρεσθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ are his Words *(i)*]. Both *Melo* and *Artapanus* agree likewiſe in teſtifying *Abraham* to have been eminent for his Wiſdom and Religion. There are ſeveral Particulars of no great Moment, in which theſe Writers either differ from *Moſes*, or relate Circumſtances which he has omitted. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* relates, that *Abraham* came with an Army out of the Country of the *Chaldees*, that he reign'd for ſome time a King

(h) Θαυμασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος καὶ δεινὸς Ἀνὴρ, ὃς νοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεῖσαι λέγων περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε διδάσκειν. (i) Euſeb. ſup. cit. *This was the Character, which* Enoch *obtained by his Faith.* Heb. xi. 5.

Damaſcen

Damaſcus, that afterwards he removed into *Canaan:* The little Difference between this Account and *Moſes*'s may eaſily be adjuſted. *Abraham* was indeed no King, but *Moſes* obſerves, that his Family and Appearance and Proſperity in the World was ſuch, that the Nations he converſed with treated him and ſpake of him as of a mighty Prince. And when his Family came firſt from *Ur*, and conſiſted both of thoſe that ſettled at *Haran*, and thoſe that removed with him into *Canaan*, he might well be reported, as the Circumſtances of the World then were, to be the Leader of an Army; for very probably few Armies were at that time more numerous than his Followers. As to his reigning King at *Damaſcus*, it is eaſy to ſee how he made this Miſtake: The Land of *Haran*, where *Abraham* made his firſt Settlement, was a part of *Syria*, of which *Damaſcus* was afterwards the head City; and hence it might happen, that the Heathen Writers finding that he made a Settlement in this Country, were not ſo exact about the Place of it as they might have been, but readily took the Capital City to have been inhabited by him. *Damaſcenus* relates further, that when *Abraham* went to *Egypt*, he went thither partly upon Account of the Famine in *Canaan*, and partly to confer with the *Egyptian* Prieſts about the Nature of the Gods, deſigning to go over to them, if

their Notions were better than his own, or to bring them over to him, if his own Sentiments ſhould be found to be the beſt grounded; and that he hereupon converſed with the moſt learned Men amongſt them. *Moſes* relates nothing of this matter; but what we meet with about *Syphis*, a King of (*k*) *Egypt*, who reigned a little after *Abraham*'s time, and was very famous for religious Speculations, makes it exceeding probable, that *Abraham* might be very much celebrated in *Egypt* for his Religion; and that his Converſation there might occaſion the Kings of *Egypt* to ſtudy with a more than ordinary Care theſe Subjects. One thing I would remark before I leave theſe Writers, namely, the Life of *Abraham* was ſuch, that even the Prophane Writers found ſufficient Reaſon to think him not only famous for his Piety, and Adherence to the true Religion, but very conſpicuous alſo for his Learning and good Senſe, far above and beyond his Cotemporaries: He was accounted not a Man of low and puerile Conceptions, nor a bigotted Enthuſiaſt; but one of Temper proper to converſe with thoſe that differed from him, and able to confute the moſt learned Oppoſers; he had a Reaſon for his Faith, and was able to give an Anſwer to all Objections, which the moſt learned could make

(*k*) See Vol. I. p. 319. Euſeb. in loc. ſup. citat.

to it (*l*): And not *Damaſcenus* only, but all the other Writers I have mentioned lay a Foundation for this Character. They all ſuppoſe him a great Maſter of the Learning that then prevailed in the World, abundantly able to teach and inſtruct the wiſeſt Men of the ſeveral Nations he converſed with. This is the Subſtance of what theſe Writers offer about *Abraham*, and in all this they ſo agree with *Moſes*, as to confirm the Truth of his Hiſtory; and the more ſo, becauſe in ſmall Matters they ſo differ from him, as to evidence, that they did not blindly copy after him, but ſearch'd for themſelves; and at laſt could find no Reaſon in matters of Moment to vary from him. *Abraham* lived to be an hundred threeſcore and fifteen Years old, and died *A. M.* 2183.

If we look back, it will be eaſy to ſee, who were *Abraham*'s Cotemporaries in all the ſeveral Parts of his Life. He was born, according to *Euſebius* (*m*), in the 43d Year of *Ninus*'s Reign, and *Ninus* reigning 52 Years died when *Abraham* was nine Years old. The five next ſucceeding Heads of the *Aſſyrian* Empire were (*n*) *Semiramis*, who governed 42 Years; *Ninyas*, who reigned 38; *Arius*, who reigned 30; *Aralius*, who reigned 40; and

(*l*) *See* Damaſcenus's *Account of him*, in Euſeb. loc. ſup. citat.
(*m*) In Chronic. (*n*) Euſeb. in Chronic.

Xerxes, who reigned 30 Years; and *Abraham* was Cotemporary with all these; so the Years of all their Reigns put together amount to but 180, and *Abraham* lived 175; and therefore having spent but nine of them at the Death of *Ninus*, his Life will extend to the 16th Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*. And if we go into *Egypt* and allow, as I have before computed that *Menes* or *Mizraim* began to reign there *A. M.* 1772, and that he reigned there until *A. M.* 1943; it will follow that *Abraham* was born in the Reigns of *Athothes*, *Cencenes* and *Mesochris*, Kings of *Egypt*, that Kingdom being at this time parted into several Sovereignties; and he lived long enough to see three or four Successions in each of their Kingdoms, as will appear to any one that consults Sir *John Marsham*'s Tables of these Kings, making due Allowance for the Difference between my Account and his of the Reign of *Menes*. *Abraham* was born, according to *Castor* in *Eusebius*, in the 36th Year of *Europs* the second King of *Sicyon*; for according to that Writer (*o*), *Ægialeus* the first King of *Sicyon* began his Reign in the 15th Year of *Belus* King of *Assyria*, i. e. *A. M.* 1920. *Ægialeus* reigned 52 Years; so that *Europs* succeeded him *A. M.* 1972, and the 36th Year of *Europs* will be *A. M.*

(*o*) Euseb. in Chronic. p. 19.

2008, which is the Year in which *Abraham* was born. *Europs* reign'd 45 Years, and *Abraham* lived to see five of his Successors, and died 10 Years before *Thurimachus* the seventh King of *Sicyon*. *Cres* is said to have been King of *Crete* about the 56th Year of *Abraham*, and about twenty nine Years before *Abraham*'s Death. *Inachus* reign'd first King of *Argos* about *A. M.* 3154.

I am sensible, that some Writers do not think the Kings of *Greece*, which I have mentioned, to be thus early. As to the first King of *Crete*, there can be but little offered, for we have nothing of the *Cretan* History, that can be depended upon before *Minos*. *Eusebius* (*p*) indeed places *Cres* in the fourth or fifth Year of *Ninyas*; but afterwards he seems in some Doubt, whether there really was such a Person, and remarks (*q*), That some Writers affirmed *Cres* to be the first King of *Crete*, others that one of the *Curetes* governed there about the time at which he imagined *Cres* to begin his Reign; so that he found more Reason to think that there was a King in *Crete* at this time, than to determine what particular Person governed it. We meet the Names of three other Kings of *Crete* in *Eusebius*; *Cydon*, *Apteras*, and *Lapes*; but we have little Proof of the Times of

(*p*) Chronic. p. 91. Num. 55. (*q*) P. 94. ad num. 129.

their

their Reigns. There is a large Account of the firſt Inhabitants of *Crete* in *Diodorus* (*r*): the Hiſtory is indeed in many things fabulous, and too confuſed to be reduced into ſuch Order as might enable us to draw any conſiſtent Concluſions from it; but there ſeem to be Hints of Generations enough before *Minos* to induce us to think, that they might have a King as early as *Euſebius* ſuppoſes; but whether their firſt King was called *Cres*, or who he was, we cannot conjecture. *Inachus* is ſaid to be the firſt King of *Argos*. He ſcarce indeed deſerves the Name of King; for in his Days the *Argives* lived up and down the Country in Companies: *Phoroneus* the Son of *Inachus* gathered the People together, and formed them into a Community (*s*); very probably *Inachus* might be a very wiſe and judicious Man, who inſtructed his Countrymen in many uſeful Arts of living, and he might go frequently amongſt them, and head their Companies in ſeveral Parts of the Country, teaching them to kill or take, and tame the wild Beaſts for their Service, and inſtructing them in the beſt manner of gathering and preſerving the Fruits of the Earth for their Occaſions. In this manner he might take the firſt Steps towards forming them for Society, and having been a Leader and Director of many

(*r*) Lib. 5. (*s*) Pauſanias in Corinthiacis.

Companies

Companies of them, as he happened to fall in amongſt them, he might be afterwards commemorated as their King, tho' ſtrictly ſpeaking it was his Son that compleated his Deſigns, and brought the People to unite in forming a regular Society, under the Direction of one to govern them for the public Good. Some Writers think, that there was no ſuch Perſon as *Inachus: Inachus* is the Name not of a King, but of a River, ſays Sir *John Marſham* (*t*); but here I think that Learned Gentleman miſtaken. *Inachus* being the Name of a River, may be offered as an Argument, that there had been ſome very eminent Perſon ſo called before the naming the River from him; For thus the Ancients endeavoured to perpetuate the Memories of their Anceſtors, they gave their Names to Countries, Cities, Mountains, and to Rivers: *Haran* being the Name of a Country (*u*), and *Nahor* the Name of a City (*w*), is no Proof that there were no Men thus called, but rather the contrary; and abundance of like Inſtances might be offered from the Prophane Hiſtorians: Other Writers allow, that there was ſuch a Perſon as *Inachus*, but they do not think him near ſo ancient as we here ſuppoſe him. *Clemens Alexandrinus* places him about the Time of the

(*t*) Canon. Chronic. p. 15. (*u*) Gen. xi. 31.
(*w*) xxiv. 10.

Children of *Iſrael*'s going out of *Egypt* (*x*); and this was the Opinion of *Africanus*, and of *Joſephus* or *Joſippus*, and of *Juſtus* who wrote an Hiſtory of the *Jews* (*y*); and it was eſpouſed by *Clemens*, and by *Tatian* alſo, moſt probably out of a Zeal to raiſe the Antiquity of *Moſes* as high as any thing the Heathens could pretend to offer. *Porphyry* took Advantage of this Miſtake, and was willing to improve it: He not only allowed *Moſes* to be as ancient as *Inachus*, but placed him even before *Semiramis:* And this *Euſebius* hints him to have endeavoured out of Zeal againſt the Sacred Writers (*z*). And thus no Endeavours have been wanting to puzzle and perplex the Accounts of the Sacred Hiſtory: At firſt the Heathen Writers endeavoured to pretend to Antiquities beyond what the Sacred Writers could be thought to aim at; but when the Falſity of this Pretence was abundantly detected, then *Porphyry* thought he could compaſs the End aim'd at by another Way; he endeavoured to ſhew, that the Heathen Hiſtory did not reach near ſo far back as had been imagined; but that the Times, which *Moſes* treated of, were really ſo much prior to the firſt Riſe of the moſt ancient Kingdoms, that all poſſible Ac-

(*x*) Strom. l. 1. (*y*) See Proœm. ad Euſeb. Chron.
(*z*) Ibid.

counts

counts of them can at beſt be but Fiction and Fancy: And this put *Euſebius* upon a ſtrict and careful Review of the ancient Hiſtory (*a*); and in order hereto, he firſt collected the Particulars of the ancient Hiſtories of all Nations, that had made any Figure in the World, and then he endeavoured to range them with one another. And if any one will take the Pains to look over the Materials which *Euſebius* collected (*b*), he will ſee that the firſt Year of *Inachus*'s Reign muſt be placed about the Time where I have above fixed it. The Writers, who had treated of the *Argive* Accounts before *Caſtor*, could not find (*c*) what to ſynchronize the firſt Year of *Inachus* with, and therefore could at beſt but gueſs where to fix it; but *Caſtor* has informed us, that *Inachus* began to reign about the Time of *Thurimachus* the ſeventh King of *Sicyon* (*d*), I ſuppoſe about his ſixth Year, as *Euſebius* computes (*e*); and this will place him in the Year abovementioned; for *Ægialeus* the firſt King of *Sicyon* began his Reign *A. M.* 1920; and from the firſt Year of *Ægialeus*, to the firſt

(*a*) Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ πολλῆ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον τιμώμενος καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνιχνεῦσαι διὰ πασῆς προθέμην. Euſeb. Procem. (*b*) Chron. λογ. πρωτ. ἐν P. I. (*c*) Ὁ χρόνος αὐτῆς βασιλείας ἀσύμφωνος φέρεται παρ' Ἕλλησι διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Chron. p. 23. (*d*) Chron. p. 24. (*e*) Ad Num. Euſeb. 161.

Year

Year of *Thurimachus* are 228 Years (*f*); carry this Account forward to the 6th Year of *Thurimachus*'s Reign, and you will place the firſt Year of *Inachus A. M.* 2154, as above; and this ſeems to be a very juſt and reaſonable Poſition of it. All Writers agree in making *Danaus* the tenth King of *Argos* (*g*), and *Pauſanias* (*h*) has given a very clear Account of the ſeveral Kings from *Inachus* to *Danaus*, ſo as to leave no room to doubt but that there really were ſo many; and the time of *Danaus* coming into (*i*) *Greece*, being near the time that *Moſes* viſited the *Iſraelites*, *A. M.* 2494, *Inachus* muſt evidently be long before *Moſes*, and moſt probably not earlier than the latter end of *Abraham*'s Life. *Moſes* was the ſixth in Deſcent from *Abraham*, being the third from *Levi* (*k*), and *Moſes* was cotemporary with *Danaus*; and it is no improbable Suppoſition to imagine ten Succeſſions of Kings in any Country within the Compaſs of the Generations between *Abraham* and *Moſes*. In like manner the Accounts we have of the Kings of *Sicyon* have no appearing Inconſiſtency or Improbability, to give any ſeeming colour

(*f*) *This will appear by putting together the Years of the Reigns of the Kings of* Sicyon, *from* Ægialeus *to* Thurimachus. (*g*) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131. Euſeb. in Chronic. Pauſanias in Corinthiacis. (*h*) Pauſan. ibid. (*i*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. *and hereafter* B. 8. (*k*) 1 Chron. vi. 1---3.

of

of Prejudice againſt them. *Ægialeus* the firſt King of *Sicyon*, according to *Caſtor*, began to reign *A. M.* 1920, that is 234 Years before *Inachus* at *Argos*; and according to the ſame Writer, the *Sicyonians* had had ſix Kings in that ſpace of Time, and the ſeventh had reigned a few Years; ſo that theſe firſt Kings of *Sicyon* muſt have reigned 38 Years a-piece one with another; but this is no extravagant Length of Time for their Reigns, conſidering the Length of Men's Lives in theſe Ages. *Moſes* gives an Account of eight ſucceſſive Kings of *Edom*, who reign'd one with another much longer (*l*). Sir *John Marſham* (*m*) endeavours to ſet aſide theſe ancient Kings of *Sicyon*, but his Arguments are very inſufficient: His Inference, that there could be no Kings of *Sicyon* before *Phoroneus* reigned at *Argos*, becauſe *Acuſilaus*, *Plato*, or *Syncellus*, have occaſionally ſpoke at large of the Antiquity of *Phoroneus*, calling him *the firſt Man*, or in the Words of the Poet cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *the Father of Mortal Men* (*n*), can require no Refutation: For theſe Writers meant not to aſſert that there were no Men before *Pho-*

(*l*) Gen. xxxvi. 31---39. *and ſee hereafter* B. 7.

(*m*) Can. Chron. p. 16. (*n*) Ἀκυσίλαος δὲ Φορωνέα πρῶτον Ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι λέγει, ὅθεν ὁ τὸν Φορωνέα ποιητὴς ἔπος αὐτὸν ἔφη Πατέρα θνητῶν Ἀνθρώπων. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. 1.

roneus,

roneus, but only that he was of great Antiquity. Sir *John Marſham* from the following Verſe of *Homer* (*o*)

Καὶ Σικυῶνι, ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἄδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν·

would inſinuate, that *Adraſtus* was the firſt King of *Sicyon*; *Scaliger* had obviated this Interpretation of *Homer*'s Expreſſion, but our learned Author rejects what *Scaliger* offers upon it; but certainly no one can infer what he would have inferred from it. Had *Homer* uſed πρῶτος inſtead of πρῶτ', there would have ſeem'd more colour for his Interpretation; but πρῶτ', which is the ſame as τὰ πρῶτα, can ſignify no more than *formerly*, *heretofore*, or *in the firſt or ancient Days*. *Adraſtus* was according to *Pauſanias* (*p*), (for *Caſtor* has miſplaced him) the eighteenth King of *Sicyon*; and *Homer* meant not to aſſert that he was the firſt King that ever reign'd there, but only that *Sicyon* was a Country of which *Adraſtus* had anciently been King; and thus our *Engliſh* Poet expreſſes *Homer*'s Meaning, calling *Sicyon*

——*Adraſtus' ancient Reign* (*q*).

Our learned Writer makes Objections againſt ſome particular Kings in the *Sicyonian* Roll: But it is obſervable, that *Caſtor*

(*o*) Il. 2. v. 572. (*p*) In Corinthiacis. (*q*) Pope's Homer.

and

and *Pauſanias* differ in ſome particular Names, and if we ſuppoſe that both of them gave true Accounts in the general, but that each of them might make ſome ſmall Miſtakes, miſnaming or miſplacing a King or two, his Objections will all vaniſh; for they do not happen to lye againſt the particular Names which *Caſtor* and *Pauſanias* agree in. I was willing to mention the Objections of this learned Writer, becauſe he himſelf ſeems to lay ſome Streſs upon them, tho' certainly it muſt appear unneceſſary to confute Objections of this Nature. And it is ſurprizingly ſtrange to ſee, what mere ſhadows of Argumentation even great and learned Men will embrace, if they ſeem to favour any Notions they are fond of. *Caſtor*'s Account of the *Sicyonian* Kings will appear, when I ſhall hereafter further examine it, to be put together with good Judgment and Exactneſs: it has ſome Faults, but is not therefore all Error and Miſtake. When we ſhall come down to the *Trojan* War, and have ſeen how far he and *Pauſanias* agree, and where they differ, and ſhall conſider from them both, and from other Writers, what Kings of *Sicyon* we have Reaſon to admit of, before that Country became ſubject to *Agamemnon*; we ſhall find abundant Reaſon to extend their Hiſtory thus far backwards, and to believe that *Ægialeus* reigned as early as *Caſtor* ſuppoſes.

The Ages in which theſe Ancients lived were full of Action. If we look into the ſeveral Parts of the World, we find in all of them Men of Genius and Contrivance, forming Companies, and laying Schemes to erect Societies, and to get into the beſt Way and Method of teaching a Multitude to live together in a Community, ſo as to reap the Benefits of a ſocial Life. *Nimrod* formed a Kingdom at *Babel*, and ſoon after him *Aſhur* formed one in *Aſſyria*. *Mizraim* in *Egypt*, and there were Kingdoms in *Canaan*, *Philiſtia*, and in diverſe other Places. *Abraham* was under the Direction of an extraordinary Providence, which led him not to be King of any Country; but we find that he had got together under his Direction a numerous Family; ſo that he could at any time form a Force of three or four hundred Men, to defend himſelf, or offend his Enemies. *Ægialeus* raiſed a Kingdom at *Sicyon*, *Inachus* at *Argos*, and diverſe other Perſons in other different Parts of the World; but the moſt ancient Polity was that, which was eſtabliſhed by *Noah*, in the Countries near to which he lived, and which his Children planted about the Time, or before the Men that travelled to *Shinaar* left him.

Noah, as has been ſaid (*a*), came out of

(*a*) Vol. I. Book 2.

the Ark in the Parts near to *India*; and the Prophane Hiſtorians inform us, that a Perſon, whom they call *Bacchus*, was the Founder of the Polity of theſe Nations (*b*). He came they ſay into *India*, before there were any Cities built in that Country, or any Armies or Bodies of Men ſufficient to oppoſe him (*c*); a Circumſtance which duly conſidered will prove to us, that whoever this Perſon was, he came into *India* before the Days of *Ninus:* For when *Ninus*, and after him *Semiramis*, made Attempts upon theſe Countries, they found them ſo well diſciplined and ſettled, as to be abundantly able to defend themſelves, and to repel all Attacks that could be made upon them (*d*). I am ſenſible, that ſome Writers have imagined the Time of *Bacchus*'s coming into *India* to be much later than *Ninus*; but then it muſt be obſerved, that they cannot mean by their *Bacchus*, the Perſon here ſpoken of, who came into *India* before there were any Cities built, or Kingdoms eſtabliſhed in it; becauſe from the Time of *Ninus* downwards, all Writers agree, that the *Indians* were in a well-ordered State and Condition, and did not want to be taught the Arts, which this *Bacchus* is ſaid to have

(*b*) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2. (*c*) Id. ibid. p. 123. Edit. Rhotoman. (*d*) See Vol. I. Book 4. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2. Juſtin. Lib. 1.

ſpread amongſt them; nor were they liable to be overrun by an Army, in the Way and Manner, in which he is ſaid to have ſubdued all before him. And further; if we look over all the famous Kings and Heroes celebrated by the Heathen Hiſtorians, we can find no one between the Times of *Ninus* and *Seſoſtris*, who can with any ſhew of Reaſon be imagined to have travelled into theſe Eaſtern Nations, and performed any very remarkable Actions in them. *Ninus*, and after him *Semiramis*, attempted to penetrate theſe Countries, but they met with great Repulſes and Obſtructions; and we do not read, that the *Aſſyrian* or *Perſian* Empires were ever extended farther Eaſt than *Bactria*; ſo that none of the Kings of this Empire can be the *Bacchus* ſo famous in theſe Eaſtern Kingdoms. If we look into *Egypt*, they had no famous Warriors before *Seſoſtris* (*e*). *Mizraim* and his Sons peopled *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Philiſtia*, and the bordering Countries, and they might probably be known in *Canaan* and *Phœnicia*; but we have no Reaſon to imagine, that any of them made any Expedition into *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Empire lay a Barrier between *Egypt* and *India*, and we have no Hints either that the *Aſſyrians* conquered *India*, or that the *Egyptians* before *Se-*

(*e*) Diodor. Lib. 1.

ſoſtris

Seſoſtris made any Conqueſts in *Aſia*, or paſſed through *Aſſyria* into the more Eaſtern Nations.

It may perhaps be here ſaid, that *Seſoſtris* was *Bacchus*, who conquer'd the Eaſt, and founded the *Indian* Polity: But to this I anſwer; 1. *India* was not in ſo low and unſettled a State in the Time of *Seſoſtris*, as it is deſcribed to have been in, when this *Bacchus* came into it; for, as I before remarked, theſe Nations were powerful in the Days of *Ninus*, and ſo they continued until *Alexander the Great*; and it is remarkable, that even he met a more conſiderable Oppoſition from *Porus* a King of this Country, than any that had been made to his victorious Arms by the whole *Perſian* Empire. 2. All the Writers, that have offered any thing about *Bacchus* and *Seſoſtris*, are expreſs in ſuppoſing them to be different Perſons. *Diodorus Siculus* (*f*) refutes at large a Miſtake of the *Greeks*, who imagined the famous *Bacchus* to be the Son of *Jupiter* and *Semele*; and intimates how and upon what Foundation *Orpheus* and the Poets that followed him, led them into this Error. And though there were Perſons in After-Ages called *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, and by other celebrated Names, he juſtly obſerves, that the Heroes firſt called ſo, lived in the firſt

(*f*) Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Rhodoman.

Ages of the World (*g*). As to *Seſoſtris*, the ſame Writer, after he has brought down the Hiſtory of *Egypt* from *Menes* to *Myris* (*h*), then he ſuppoſes *Seſoſtris* to be ſeven Generations later than *Myris*, which makes him by far too modern to be conceived to be the *Bacchus*, who lived according to his Opinion in the firſt Ages of the World. But, 3. *Seſoſtris* cannot be the *Indian Bacchus*, becauſe *Seſoſtris* never came into *India* at all. *Diodorus* (*i*) indeed ſays, that *Seſoſtris* paſſed over the *Ganges*, and conquered all *India* as far as to the Ocean; but he muſt have been miſtaken in this Particular. *Herodotus* has given a very particular Account of *Seſoſtris*'s Expeditions (*k*), and it does not appear from him, that he went further Eaſt than *Bactria*; there he turned aſide to the *Scythians*, and extending his Conqueſts over their Dominions, he returned into *Aſia* at the River *Phaſis*, a River which runs into the *Euxin* Sea. And this Account agrees perfectly well with the Reaſon, which the Prieſt of *Vulcan* gave for not admitting the Statue of *Darius* to take Place of the Statue of *Seſoſtris* (*l*); becauſe, he ſaid, *Seſoſtris* had been Maſter of more Nations than *Darius*

(*g*) Κατὰ τὰν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν Ἀνθρώπων. Id. ibid.
(*h*) Id. p. 34. (*i*) Id. p. 35. (*k*) Lib. 2. c. 103.
(*l*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 110.

having

having ſubdued not only all the Kingdoms ſubject to *Darius*, but the *Scythians* beſides. *India* was no Part of the *Perſian* Empire, and therefore had *Seſoſtris* conquered *India*, here would have been another conſiderable Addition to his Glory, and the Prieſt of *Vulcan* would have mentioned this as well as *Scythia*, as an Inſtance of his exceeding the Power and Dominion of *Darius*; but the Truth was, neither *Darius* nor *Seſoſtris* had ever ſubjugated *India*: For, as *Juſtin* remarks, *Semiramis* and *Alexander the Great* were the only two Perſons that entered this Country (*m*). The Accounts of the Victories of *Seſoſtris* given by *Manetho*, both in the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius* (*n*), and in *Joſephus* (*o*), agree very well with *Herodotus*, and confine his Expeditions to *Europe* and *Aſia*, and make no mention of his entring *India*; and to this agree all the Accounts we have of the ſeveral Pillars erected by him in Memory of his Conqueſts; they were found in every Country where he had been (*p*), but we have no Account of any ſuch Monuments of him in *India*. *Cteſias* perhaps might imagine he had been in this Country, and from him *Diodorus* might have it; but tho' *Cteſias*'s *Aſſyrian*

(*m*) Juſtin. Lib. 1. c. 2. Indiæ Bellum intulit; quò præter illam & Alexandrum nemo intravit. (*n*) Chronic. p. 15.
(*o*) Contra Apion. l. 1. (*p*) Herodot. ubi ſup.

Hiſtory has by the beſt Writers been thought worthy of Credit, yet his Accounts of *India* were not ſo well wrote, but were full of Fiction and Miſtakes (*q*). It appears from what all other Writers have offered about *Seſoſtris* (*r*), that he never was in *India*, and therefore he cannot be the Perſon that firſt ſettled the Polity of theſe Kingdoms.

It may perhaps be thought more difficult to ſay who this *Indian Bacchus* was, than to prove that *Seſoſtris* was not the Perſon. The Ancient Writers have made almoſt an endleſs Confuſion, by the Variety of Names which they ſometimes give to one Perſon, and by ſometimes calling various Perſons by one and the ſame Name. *Diodorus Siculus* was ſenſible of the many Difficulties occaſioned hereby, when he was to treat of the *Egyptian* Gods (*s*). There have been ſeveral Perſons called by the Name of *Bacchus*, at leaſt one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and one in *Greece*; but we muſt not confound them one with the other, eſpecially when we have remarkable Hints by which we may ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them. For, 1. The *Indian Bacchus* was the firſt and

(*q*) Hen. Steph. de Cteſiâ Diſquiſit. (*r*) *I have followed the common Accounts that are given of* Seſoſtris, *tho' I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to remark how far they go beyond what is true:* Seſoſtris *was not ſo great a Conqueror as he is repreſented.*
(*s*) Lib. 1. p. 21.

moſt

moſt ancient of all that bore that Name (*t*). 2. He was the firſt that preſſed the Grape and made Wine (*u*). 3. He lived in theſe Parts before there were any Cities in *India* (*w*). 4. They ſay he was twice born, and that he was nouriſhed in the Thigh of *Jupiter*. Theſe are the Particulars which the Heathen Writers give us of the *Indian Bacchus*, and from all theſe Hints it muſt unqueſtionably appear that he was *Noah*, and no other. *Noah* being the firſt Man in the poſt-diluvian World, lived early enough to be the moſt ancient *Bacchus*; and *Noah*, according to *Moſes* (*x*), was the firſt that made Wine. *Noah* lived in theſe Parts as ſoon as he came out of the Ark, earlier than there were any Cities built in *India*; and as to the laſt Circumſtance of *Bacchus* being twice born, and brought forth out of the Thigh of *Jupiter*, *Diodorus* gives us an unexpected Light into the true Meaning of this Tradition; he ſays (*y*) "That *Bacchus* was ſaid to be "twice born, becauſe in *Deucalion*'s Flood "he was thought to have periſhed with

(*t*) Id. Lib. 3. p. 197. Edit. Rhodoman. (*u*) Id. Lib. 4.
(*w*) Id. Lib. 2. (*x*) Gen. ix. 20.
(*y*) Διὸς δ' αὐτῷ τῷ γένεσιν ἐκ Διὸς παραδεδόσθαι, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμῷ φθαρῆναι καὶ τότους τοὺς καιροὺς, καὶ μετὰ τῆν ἐπομένειαν πάλιν ἀναφυέντας, ὥσπερεὶ δευτέραν ἐπφάνειαν ταύτην ὑπάρξαι τῷ Θεῷ παρ' ἀνθρώποις, καθ' ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μηρῷ γενέσθαι πάλιν τὸν Θεὸν τοῦτον μυθολογοῦσι. Diodor. l. 3. p. 196.

"the

" the reſt of the World, but God brought
" him again as by a ſecond Nativity into
" the Sight of Men, and they ſay *mytholo-*
" *gically*, that he came out of the Thigh
" of *Jupiter*." This ſeems very probable to have been the ancient *Indian* Tradition, in order to perpetuate the Memory of *Noah*'s Preſervation; and *Diodorus*, or the Writers he took it from, have corrupted it but very little: *Deucalion*'s Flood is a Weſtern Expreſſion; the *Greeks* indeed called the ancient Flood, of which they had ſome imperfect Traditions, ſometimes *Ogyges*'s Flood, and ſometimes *Deucalion*'s; but I cannot think, that the Name of *Deucalion* was ever in the ancient *Indian* Antiquities; and the Tradition it ſelf not being underſtood by the *Greeks*, is applied to *Bacchus*'s Vine, inſtead of to himſelf: For it was not the Vine more than any other Tree, but the Vine-Planter, who was ſo wonderfully preſerved, as is hinted by this *Mythological* Tradition. I dare ſay I need offer no more upon this Particular; any one, that impartially weighs what I have already put together, will admit that *Noah* was the *Indian Bacchus*; and that the Heathen Writers had at firſt ſhort Hints or Memoirs, that after the Deluge he came out of the Ark in the Place I have formerly hinted near to *India*; that he lived and died in theſe Countries, and that his Name was famous amongſt his Poſterity, for the

many

many uſeful Arts he taught them, and Inſtructions he gave them, for their providing and uſing the Conveniencies of Life; tho' we now have in the Remains of theſe Writers little more than this and a few other fabulous Relations about him. As to the Particular which *Diodorus* mentions, that *Bacchus* went out of the Weſt into *India* with an Army, this is a Fiction of ſome Weſtern Writer: No Weſtern King or Army ever conquered *India*, before *Alexander the Great*; *Semiramis* only made ſome unſucceſsful Attempts towards it. And it is remarkable, that *Diodorus* himſelf was not aſſured of the Truth of this Fact; for he expreſsly informs us, that tho' the *Egyptians* contended that this *Bacchus* was a Native of their Country, yet the *Indians*, who ought to be allowed to know their own Hiſtory beſt, denied it, and aſſerted as poſitively, that *Bacchus* was originially of their Country (*z*); and that having invented and contrived the Culture of the Vine, he communicated the Knowledge of the Uſe of Wine to the Inhabitants of the other Parts of the World.

Noah lived 350 Years after the Flood (*a*), and died about the time that *Abraham* was born. He began to be an Huſbandman and planted a Vineyard (*b*) ſoon

(*z*) Diodorus Lib. 4. p. 210.
(*a*) Gen. ix. 29.
(*b*) Ver. 20.

after

after the Flood; He was the firſt that obtained Men leave to eat the living Creatures (*c*); and by teaching this, and putting his Children upon the Study and Practice of Planting and Agriculture, he laid the firſt Foundations for raiſing a plentiful Maintenance for great Numbers of People in the ſeveral Parts of the World. It is very probable that Men, whilſt they were but few, lived a ranging and unſettled Life, moving up and down, killing ſuch of the wild Beaſts of the Field, or Fowls of the Air, as they had a mind to for Food, or as came in their Way; and gathering ſuch Fruits of the Earth, as the wild Trees or uncultivated Fields ſpontaneouſly offered them (*d*). But when Mankind came to multiply, this courſe of Life muſt grow very inconvenient; and therefore *Noah*, as his Children increaſed, taught them how to live a ſettled Life, and by tilling the Ground increaſe the Quantity of Proviſion, which the Earth was capable of producing, and hereby to be able to live comfortably, and without breaking in upon one another's Plenty. At what particular Time *Noah* put his Children upon form-

(*c*) Gen. ix. See Vol. I. B. 2. (*d*) See Ovid Metam. Fab. 3.

Contentique Cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant,
Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora Rubetis;
Et quæ deciderant patulâ Jovis arbore glandes.

ing

ing civil Societies, we cannot certainly ſay, but I ſhould imagine, that it might be about the Time that the Perſons who travelled to *Shinaar* (*e*) left him; and that they left him, becauſe they were not willing to come into the Meaſures, and ſubmit to the Appointments which he made for thoſe who remained with him. Theſe Men perhaps thought, that the Neceſſity of tilling the Ground was occaſioned only by their living too many too near to one another; and that if they ſeparated and travelled, the Earth was ſtill capable of affording them ſufficient Nouriſhment, without the Labour of Tilth and Culture, and this Notion very probably brought them to *Shinaar*.

Diodorus Siculus has given us ſuch an Account of the ancient *Indian* Polity, as may lead us to conjecture what Steps *Noah* directed his Children to take, in order to form Nations and Kingdoms (*f*); and the *Chineſe* Kingdom ſeems to ſtand upon theſe Foundations even to this Day, being, as they themſelves report, little different now from what it was when framed by their Legiſlators as they compute, above 4000 Years ago. The ancient Writers called all the moſt Eaſtern Nations by the Name of *India*: They reputed *India* to be the largeſt of all the Nations in the World (*g*), nay

(*e*) See B. II. (*f*) Lib. (*g*) Strabo lib. 2.

as

as large as all *Aſia* beſides (*h*); ſo that they took under that Name a much larger Tract, than what is now called *India*, moſt probably all *India*, and what we now call *China*; for they extended it Eaſtward to the Eaſtern Sea (*i*), not meaning hereby what Modern *Geographers* call the *Eaſtern Indian* Ocean, but rather the great *Indian* Ocean, which waſhes upon the *Philippine* Iſles. The Ancients had no exact Knowledge of theſe Parts of the World, but imagined the Land to run in ſome Parts further Eaſt than it is now ſuppoſed to do, and in others not ſo far; but ſtill as they all agreed to bound the Earth every where with Waters, according to *Ovid*,

——— *Circumfluus Humor*
Ultima poſſedit, ſolidumq; coercuit orbem.

ſo their *Mare Eoum*, or Eaſtern Sea, was that which terminated the extreme Eaſtern Countries, however imperfect a Notion they had of their true Situation; and all the Countries from *Bactria* up to this Eaſtern Ocean were their *India*. And tho' the ancient Antiquities of the Countries we now call *India* are quite loſt or defaced, yet it is remarkable, that if we go further Eaſt into *China*, to which ſo many Incurſions of the more Weſtern Kingdoms

(*h*) Strabo lib. 15. (*i*) Id. lib. 2. ubi ſup.

and

and Conquerors have not ſo frequently reached, or ſo much affected, we find great Remains of what *Diodorus* calls the ancient *Indian* Polity, and which ſeems very likely to have been derived from the Appointments of *Noah* to his Children: But let us equire what it is moſt probable theſe Appointments were. And

The *Indians* are divided into ſeven different Orders or Sorts of Men: Their firſt Legiſlator conſidered what Employments were neceſſary to be undertaken and cultivated for the public Welfare, and he appointed ſeveral Sets or Orders of Men, that each Art or Employment might be duly taken Care of, by thoſe whoſe proper Buſineſs it was to employ themſelves in it. And, 1. Some were appointed to be Philoſophers and to ſtudy Aſtronomy. In the ancient Times, Men had no way of knowing when to ſow or till their Grounds, but by obſerving the Riſing and Setting of particular Stars; for they had no Kalendar for many Ages, nor had they divided the Year into a ſet of Months, but the Lights of Heaven were, as *Moſes* ſpeaks, *for Signs* to them, *and for (k) Seaſons, and for Days, and for Years.* They by degrees found by Experience, that when ſuch or ſuch Stars appeared, then the Seaſons for the ſeveral Parts of Tillage were come, and therefore found

(k) Gen. i.

it

it very neceſſary to make the beſt Obſervations they could of the Heavens, in order to cultivate the Earth, ſo as that they might expect the Fruits of it in due Seaſon. That this was indeed the Way, which the Ancients took to find out the proper Seaſons for the ſeveral Parts of the Husbandman's Employments, is evident both from *Heſiod* and *Virgil*. The Seaſons of the Year were pretty well ſettled before *Heſiod*'s Time, much better before *Virgil*'s, as may appear from *Heſiod*'s mentioning the ſeveral Seaſons of Spring, Summer, and Winter, and the names of ſome particular Months; but both theſe Poets have given ſeveral *Specimens* of the ancient Directions for Sowing and Tillage, which Men at firſt were not directed to perform in this or that Month, or Seaſon of the Year; for theſe were not ſo early obſerved or ſettled, but upon the riſing or ſetting of particular Stars. Thus *Heſiod* adviſes to reap and plough by the riſing and ſetting of the *Pleiades* (*l*), to cut Wood by the Dog-Star (*m*), and to prune Vines by the riſing of *Arcturus*. And thus *Virgil* lays it down for a general Rule, that it was as neceſſary for the Countryman to obſerve the Stars, as for the Sailor (*n*), and gives various Directions for Husbandry and Til-

(*l*) Heſiod. Ἔργων καὶ Ἡμερῶν. Lib. 2. (*m*) Id. ibid.
(*n*) Virgil. Georgic. Lib. 1.

lage

lage in the ancient Way, forming Rules for the Times of performing the ſeveral Parts of Husbandry from the Lights of Heaven. Men could have but little Notion of the Seaſons of the Year, whilſt they did not know what the true Length of the Year was; or at leaſt, they muſt after a few Years Revolutions be led into great Miſtakes about them. About a thouſand Years paſſed after the Flood, before the moſt accurate Obſervers of the Stars in any Nation, came to be able to gueſs at the true Length of the Year, without miſtaking above five Days *(o)* in the Length of it; and in ſome Nations they miſtook more, and found out their Miſtake later. And it is eaſy to ſee, what fatal Miſmanagements ſuch an Ignorance as this would in ſix or eight Years Time introduce into our Agriculture, if we really thought Summer and Winter to come about five or ſix Days ſooner every Year than their real Revolutions. And I cannot but think, that the firſt Attempters to till the Ground muſt make their Attempts with great Uncertainties, and perhaps occaſion many of the Famines, which we read were ſo frequent in the ancient Times, by their being not well apprized of the true Courſe of the Seaſons, and therefore tilling and ſowing in unſeaſonable Times, and in an improper

(*o*) Pref. to Vol. I.

Manner. They in a little Time obſerved, that the Stars appeared to them to be in different Poſitions at different Times, and by trying Experiments, they came to gueſs under what Star, as I might ſpeak it, this or that Grain was to be ſown and reaped; and ſo by degrees fixed good Rules for their *Geoponics*, before they attained a juſt and adequate Notion of the Revolution of the Year: But then it is obvious to be remarked, that any one that could give Inſtructions in this Matter, muſt be highly eſteemed, being moſt importantly uſeful in every Kingdom. And ſince no one could be able to give theſe Inſtructions, unleſs he ſpent much Time in carefully making all ſorts of Obſervations; the beſt that could be made at firſt being but very imperfect; it ſeems highly reaſonable that every King ſhould ſet a-part and encourage a Number of diligent Students, to cultivate theſe Studies with all poſſible Induſtry; and agreeably hereto, they paid great Honours to theſe Aſtronomers in *Egypt*, and at *Babylon*, and in every other Country where Tillage was attempted with any Prudence or Succeſs. *Noah* muſt be well apprized of the Uſefulneſs of this Study, having lived 600 Years before the Flood, and he was without doubt well acquainted with all the Arts of Life, that had been invented in the firſt World, and this of obſerving the Stars had been one of them; ſo

that

that he could not only apprize his Children of the Neceſſity of, but alſo put them into ſome Method of proſecuting theſe Studies.

Another ſet of Men were to make it their whole Buſineſs to till the Ground; and a third Sort to keep and order the Cattle, to chuſe and kill ſuch of the Beaſts as would be noxious to Mankind, or deſtroy the Tillage, and incommode the Husbandman; and to take, and tame, and paſture ſuch as might be proper for Food or Service. A fourth ſet of Men were appointed to be Artificers, to employ themſelves in making all ſorts of Weapons for War, and Inſtruments for the Tillage, and to ſupply the whole Community in general with all Utenſils and Furniture. A fifth ſet were appointed for the Art of War, to exerciſe themſelves in Arms, to be always ready to ſuppreſs inteſtine Tumults and Diſorders, or to repel Foreign Invaſions and Attacks, whenever ordered for either Service; and this their ſtanding Force was very numerous, for it was almoſt equal to the Number of the Tillers of the Ground. A ſixth Sort were the *Ephori*, or Overſeers of the Kingdom, a ſet of Perſons employed to go over every Part of the King's Dominions, examining the Affairs and Management of the Subjects, in order to report what might be amiſs, that proper Meaſures might be taken to correct and amend

it. And laſtly, they had a ſet of the wiſeſt Perſons to aſſiſt the King as his Council, and to be employed, either as Magiſtrates or Officers to command his Armies, or in governing and diſtributing Juſtice amongſt his People. The ancient *Indians* were, as *Diodorus* tells us, divided into theſe ſeven different Orders or Sorts of Men; and the *Chineſe* Polity, according to the beſt Accounts we have of it, varies but little in Subſtance from theſe Inſtitutions; and according to *Le Compte*, it was much the ſame when firſt ſettled as it is now, and therefore very probably *Noah* formed ſuch a Plan as this for the firſt Kingdoms. The *Chineſe* ſay, that *Fohi* their firſt King reigned over them 115 Years; ſo that ſuppoſing *Noah* to be this *Fohi* *(p)*, *Noah* began to reign in *China* 115 Years before his Death, *i. e.* *A. M.* 1891, for *Noah* was born *A. M.* 1056 *(q)*, and he lived 950 Years *(r)*; ſo that according to this Account, we may well allow the Truth of what they ſay, that their Government was firſt ſettled about 4000 Years ago. If we begin the Chriſtian *Æra* with Archbiſhop *Uſher*, *A. M.* 4004, this preſent Year 1727, will be *A. M.* 5731; and the Interval between this Year and that in which *Noah* firſt reigned in *China* is 3840 Years: But we are not to ſuppoſe that *Noah* began the

(*p*) See Vol. I. B. 2. (*q*) Vol. I. (*r*) Gen. ix. 29.

firſt

firſt Kingdom which he erected in *China*. He came out of the Ark 350 Years before his Death *(s)*, he ſettled in *China* but 115, and it is moſt probable to imagine, that he did in theſe Countries, as *Mizraim* in *Egypt*. He directed his Children in forming Societies, firſt in one Place, and then in another; and he might begin in Countries not ſo far Eaſt as *China*, about the time that Part of his Deſcendants removed weſtward towards *Shinaar*, about *A. M.* 1736 *(t)*. And if we date the Riſe of the Kingdoms founded by *Noah* about this Time, it will in Truth be very near 4000 Years ago; ſo that there ſeems to be in the main but very little Miſtake in the *Chineſe* Accounts; they only report things done by *Noah* before he was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, their King, but hardly before he had performed thoſe very Things in Places adjacent and bordering upon them. There are ſome Remarks that ſhould be added, before I diſmiſs this Account of the Plan, upon which it ſeems ſo probable, that *Noah* erected the firſt Kingdoms. And,

1. The King in theſe Nations had the ſole Property of all the Lands in the Kingdom. All the Land, ſays *Diodorus (u)*, was the King's, and the Husbandmen paid Rent for their Lands to the King, τ̃ χώρας

(s) Ib. ver. 28. (t) See Vol. I. B. 2. (u) Lib. 2. p. 125.

μιθὸς τελῶσι τῷ βασιλεῖ; and he adds further, that no private Perſon could be the Owner of any Land; and even ſtill the Lands in *China* (*w*) are held by Socage, and the Perſons that have the Uſe of them pay Duties and Contributions for them; and theſe began very early, or rather were at firſt appointed; for, 2. According to *Diodorus*, over and above the Rent, the ancient *Indians* paid a fourth Part of the Product of their Grounds to the King, and with the Income ariſing hence, the King maintained the Soldiers, the Magiſtrates, the Officers, the Students of Aſtronomy, and the Artificers that were employed for the Public (*x*): The Ground-rent, as I might call it, of the Lands, ſeems to have been the King's Patrimony, the additional Tax or Income was appointed for the public Service. 3. They had a Law againſt Slavery (*y*); No Perſon amongſt them could abſolutely loſe his Freedom, and become a Bondſman. Many of the Heathen Writers thought, that this was an original Inſtitution in the firſt Laws of Mankind. *Lucian* ſays, that there was ſuch an Appointment in the Days of *Saturn* (*z*), *i. e.* in the firſt Ages; and *Athenæus* obſerves that the *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, as

(*w*) Le Compte. (*x*) Diodor. Sic. ubi ſup. (*y*) Id. p. 124. Νενομοθέτηται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅλον μηδένα τὸ παράπαν ἔιναι. (*z*) Lucian. in Saturnal.

well

well as the *Greeks*, and diverſe other Nations, celebrated annually a ſort of *Saturnalia*, or Feaſts inſtituted moſt probably in Commemoration of the original State of Freedom, which Men lived in before Servitude was introduced (*a*); and as *Moſes* revived ſeveral of *Noah*'s Inſtitutions, ſo there are Appointments in the Law to preſerve the Freedom of the *Iſraelites* (*b*). 4. We do not find any national Prieſts appointed in the original Inſtitutions of theſe Nations. This I think a very remarkable Particular; becauſe we have early mention of the Prieſts, in the Accounts we have of many other Nations. In *Egypt* they were an Order of the firſt Rank, and had a conſiderable Share of the Lands in the Time of *Joſeph*; according to *Diodorus*, they had the third Part of the whole Land of *Egypt* ſettled upon them (*c*). *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* has given us the Inſtitutions of *Romulus*, and of *Numa*, for the eſtabliſhing the *Roman* Prieſthood; And in the Times of *Plato* (*d*) and *Ariſtotle* (*e*), tho' the political Writers were not unanimous how they were to be created, yet they were agreed, that an eſtabliſhed Prieſthood was neceſſary in every State or Kingdom: But the ancient *In-*

(*a*) Athenæus Deipnoſ. l. 14. p. 639. & in loc. al. (*b*) Leviticus xxv. (*c*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 66. (*d*) Lib. 2. Rom. Antiq. (*e*) De Repub l. 7. c. 8.

dians, according to *Diodorus*, had originally no ſuch Order. *Diodorus* does indeed ſay, that the Philoſophers were ſent for by private Perſons of their Acquaintance to their Sacrifices and Funerals, being eſteemed as Perſons much in the Favour of the Gods, and of great Skill in the Ceremonies to be performed on ſuch Occaſions (*f*); but it is to be obſerved, that they were ſent for, not as Prieſts to ſacrifice, but as learned and good Men, able to inſtruct the common unlearned People how to pay their Worſhip to the Deity in the beſt Manner; and therefore *Diodorus* juſtly diſtinguiſhes, and calls the Part they performed on theſe Occaſions, not λειτουργία, which would have been the proper Term, had they been Prieſts for the People, but ὑπουργία, becauſe they only aſſiſted them on theſe Occaſions (*g*). It will be asked how came theſe Nations to have no national Prieſts appointed, as there were in ſome other Kingdoms? I anſwer; God originally appointed who ſhould be the Prieſt to every Family, or to any Number of Families when aſſembled together, namely the firſt born or eldeſt (*h*); and as no

(*f*) Lib. 2. p. 125. *His Words are*, Οἱ φιλόσοφοι — παραλαμβάνονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔς τε τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ θυσίας καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐπιμελείας, ὡς Θεοῖς φίλους γενόμενοι περισσοτέρους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου μάλιστα ἐμπείρως ἔχοντας. (*g*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 125.

(*h*) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 295.

Ma

Man could juſtly *take this Honour to himſelf, but he that* was *called of* or appointed by *God* to it (*i*); and as God gave no further directions in this Matter until he appointed the Prieſthood of *Aaron* for the Children of *Iſrael*; ſo *Noah* had no Authority to make Conſtitutions in this Matter, but was himſelf the Prieſt to all his Children, and each of his Sons to their reſpective Families in the ſame manner, as before civil Societies were erected; and this I think muſt have been the true Reaſon for their having no eſtabliſhed Prieſts originally in theſe Nations: And from this Circumſtance, as well as from thoſe before-mentioned, I ſhould imagine, 5. That Civil Government was in theſe Kingdoms built upon the Foundation of *Paternal* Authority. *Noah* was the Father, the Prieſt, and became the King of all his People; an eaſy Tranſition; for who could poſſibly have Authority to ſet up againſt him? nor is it likely that his Children ſhould not readily obey his Orders, and ſort themſelves into the political Life according to his Appointments. At his Death the Prieſthood deſcended to the eldeſt Son, and the Rule and Authority of Civil Governour came along with it; for how ſhould it well be otherwiſe? Something extraordinary muſt happen before any particular Perſon would

(*i*) Hebrews v. 4.

attempt

attempt to ſet himſelf above one, to whom his Religion had in ſome meaſure ſubjected him; and therefore the eldeſt Son at the Father's Death being the only Perſon, that could of right be Prieſt to his Brethren and their Children, *Unto him only muſt be their Deſire*; and he muſt be the only Perſon, that could without Difficulties and Oppoſitions *rule over them.* This Method of erecting Governments is ſo eaſy and natural, that ſome very learned Writers have not been able to conceive that Civil Government could poſſibly be raiſed upon any other Foundation; but there will appear the moſt convincing Evidences againſt their Opinion, when we come to examine the Kingdoms erected by the Men who lived at, and diſperſed from, the Land of *Shinaar.* It is natural to think, that *Noah* formed his Children that lived under him in this Method. And if *Noah* had indeed divided the World to his three Sons, as ſome Writers have without any Reaſon imagined, giving *Africk* to *Ham*, *Europe* to *Japhet*, and placing *Shem* in *Aſia*, no doubt but he would have inſtructed them to have kept to this Method all the World over. But how can we imagine that *Noah* ever thought of making any other Diviſion of the World, than only to direct his Children to remove and ſeparate from one another, when they found living together grew inconvenient?

He

He ſhew'd them a Method by which many Families might join, and make their Numbers of Uſe and Service to the whole Community; but ſuch as would not come into his Directions took their Way, and travelled to a Place far diſtant, and afterward came to Settlements upon different Maxims, and at different Times, as accidental Circumſtances directed and contributed to it. But, 6. The ſuppoſing *Noah* to have founded the Eaſtern Kingdoms of *India* and *China* upon the Model I have mentioned, gives a full and clear Account, how theſe Nations came to be ſo potent, and able to reſiſt all Attacks that could be made upon them, as *Ninus* and *Semiramis* experienced, when they attempted to invade and over-run them (*k*). If *Noah* appointed a Soldiery in each of theſe Kingdoms almoſt as numerous as their Husbandmen, and they began to form and exerciſe themſelves ſo early as about *A. M.* 1736; ſince it appears that *Ninus* did not invade *Bactria* and *India* until almoſt 300 Years after this Time, theſe Nations muſt, before he invaded them, have become very conſiderable for their Military Strength, and ſuperior to any Armies that could come from *Shinaar*. 7. The ſuppoſing theſe Kingdoms to differ at preſent in their Conſtitution but very little, from what they were

(*k*) See Vol. I. B. 4.

at

at their firſt Settlement, is very conſiſtent with the Accounts we have of their preſent Letters and Language. In both theſe they ſeem to have made very little or no Improvement (*l*), but have adhered very ſtrictly to their firſt Rudiments; and why may they not very juſtly be ſuppoſed to have been equally tenacious of their original Settlement and Conſtitution. But let us now come to the Nations and Governours, which aroſe from and in the Land of *Shinaar*.

Nimrod was the firſt of them. *Polybius* has conjectured, that the firſt Kings in the World obtained their Dominion by their being ſuperior to all others in Strength and Courage (*m*); and this very evidently appears to have been the Foundation of *Nimrod*'s Authority. *He was a mighty Hunter*, and from hence *he began to be a mighty one in the Earth* (*n*). When the Confuſion of Tongues had determined the Builders of *Babel* to ſeparate, they muſt have known it to be neceſſary for them not to break into too little Companies, for if they had, the wild Beaſts would have been too hard for them. *Plato* imagines, that Mankind in the firſt Ages lived up and down, one here and another there, until the Fear of the wild Beaſts compelled

(*l*) See Vol. I. B. 2. p. 122. B. 4. p. 242, 243.
(*m*) Polybius Lib. 6. p. 361. (*n*) Gen. x. 8, 9.

them

them to unite in Bodies for their Preſervation (*o*). This does not ſeem to have been true in Fact; for Mankind always from the Beginning lived in ſome ſort of Companies, and the Beaſts, which in time became wild and ravenous, do not appear at firſt to have been ſo; or at leaſt not knowing the Strength of Man, they were not ſo ready to aſſault him; but *the Fear* of Man, *and the dread* of Man was *upon them* (*p*). And Mankind, in the Ages before the Flood, tamed them, or reduced them to a great degree, as is evident both from *Noah*'s being able to get of all ſorts of living Creatures into his Ark, and from his Ark's being capable of containing ſome of every Kind and Species of them. But after the Flood, near an hundred Years had paſs'd, before any human Inhabitant had come to dwell in theſe Countries, and the Beaſts that might have roved hither, had had time to multiply to great Numbers, and to contract a wild and ſavage Nature, and prodigious Fierceneſs; ſo that it could not be ſafe for ſingle Individuals, or very ſmall Companies of Men, to hazard themſelves amongſt them. But *Nimrod*

(*o*) Οὕτω ὦ παρεσκευασμένοι οἱ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνθρωποι, ἦσαν σποράδην, πόλεις δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν· ἀπώλλυντο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, διὰ τὸ παντάχῃ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστεροι εἶναι. ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφὴν ἱκανὴ βοηθὸς ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής. Plato. in Protag. p. 324. (*p*) Gen. ix. 2.

ſhew'd

ſhew'd his Followers how they might attempt to conquer and reduce them; and being a Man of ſuperior Strength as well as Courage, it was as natural for the reſt of the Company to follow him as their Captain or Leader, as it is, to uſe *Polybius*'s Compariſon (*q*), for the Herds of Cattle to follow the ſtouteſt and ſtrongeſt in the Herd. And when *Nimrod* was thus become their Captain, he quickly became their Judge in all Debates which might ariſe, and their Ruler and Director in all the Affairs and Offices of Civil Life (*r*). *Nimrod* in a little time turned his Thoughts from hunting to building Cities, and endeavoured to inſtruct thoſe, who had put themſelves under him, in the beſt and moſt commodious Ways of living (*s*); but whoever conſiders what Age he could be of, when he (*t*) began to be a Ruler, and the Hint which *Moſes* gives of his Hunting, muſt think it moſt reaſonable to found his Dominion upon his Strength and Valour, which certainly gave the firſt Riſe to it. In the early Ages Largeneſs of Stature, and prodigious Strength were the moſt engag-

(*q*) Lib. 6. § 3. p. 631. (*r*) Ὅταν ὁ πρεσβεὺς τῷ μεγίστῳ δυνάμιν ἔχων ἀεὶ συνεπιχύῃ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διαλέξεις, καὶ δόξῃ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις διανεμητικὸς εἶναι τοῦ καθ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστοις· ἂν δὲ τὶ τῶν βίαν διδιότες, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ δοκοῦντες ὑποτάττονται, καὶ συναύξουσι τὸν Ἀρχὸν αὐτῶν. Polyb. Hiſtor. l. 6. p. 633.

(*s*) See Vol. I. B. 4. (*t*) Ibid. p. 190.

ing Qualifications to raiſe Men to be Kings and Commanders. We read in *Ariſtotle* (*u*) that the *Ethiopians* anciently choſe Perſons of the largeſt Stature to be their Kings; and tho' *Saul* was made King of *Iſrael* by the ſpecial Appointment of God, yet it appears to have been a Circumſtance not inconſiderable in the Eyes of his People, That he was *a choice young Man and a goodly: and there was not among the Children of Iſrael a goodlier Perſon than he: from his Shoulders and upward, he was higher than any of the People* (*w*). *Polybius* remarks, that whenever Experience convinced them, that other Qualifications beſides Strength and a warlike Diſpoſition were neceſſary for the People's Happineſs, then they choſe Perſons of the greateſt Prudence and Wiſdom for their Governours (*x*); and this ſeems to have been Fact in the Land of *Shinaar*, when *Nimrod* died, and *Belus* was made King after his Deceaſe (*y*).

All the Kingdoms that were raiſed by the Men of *Shinaar*, were not built upon this Foundation. *Nimrod* began as a Captain, and his Subjects were at firſt only Soldiers under him; but it is probable that ſome other Societies began in the order of Maſters and Servants. Some wiſe and un-

(*u*) Ariſtot. de Repub. l. 4. c. 4. (*w*) 1 Sam. ix. 2.
(*x*) Polyb. lib. 6. c. 5. (*y*) See Book 4. p. 195.

derſtanding

derſtanding Men, who knew how to contrive Methods to till and cultivate the Ground, to manage Cattle, and to prune and plant Fruit-Trees, and preſerve and uſe the Fruits, took into their Families and promiſed to provide for ſuch as would become their Servants, and be ſubject to their Directions. Servitude is very juſtly defined by the *Civilians* to be a State of Subjection *contra naturam* (z), very different from and contrary to the natural Rights of Mankind; and they endeavour to qualify the Aſſertion of *Ariſtotle* (a), who thought that ſome Perſons were by Nature deſigned for Servitude. The eſtabliſhed Politics of all Nations, that *Ariſtotle* was acquainted with, could hardly fail of byaſſing him into this Opinion. We have now a truer Senſe of Things than to think, that God has made ſome Perſons to be the Slaves and mere Property of others. God has indeed given to different Men, different Abilities, both of Mind and of Body. Some are beſt able by their Powers of Mind to invent and contrive, and others more fit to execute with Strength thoſe Deſigns, which the Directions of other People mark out and contrive for them. In this Way all Mankind are made to be ſerviceable to oneanother, and that with-

(z) Juſtinian. Inſtitut. Lib. 1. Tit. 3. Lib. 1. c. 5.

(a) Politic.

out

out abſolute Dominion in ſome, or Slavery in others, as is fully experienced in Chriſtian Kingdoms. *Busbequius* (*a*) a very ingenious Writer queries much, whether the aboliſhing Servitude has been advantageous to the Public; but I cannot think what he has ſaid for his Opinion is at all concluſive. The Grandeur of particular Perſons may be greater, where they are ſurrounded with Multitudes of Slaves; but a Community, which conſiſts of none but Citizens, is in a better Capacity to procure and improve the Advantages, which ariſe from Government and Society; ſuch a Body is, as I might ſay, politically alive in all its Parts and Members, and every Individual has a real Intereſt of its own depending in the publick Good: As to all the Inconveniencies ariſing from, or Miſcarriages of the low and vulgar People, not their Liberty, but an Abuſe of it is the Cauſe of them, and they may be as eaſily taught to be good Citizens in their Stations, as good Servants. And this Senſe of Things prevailed in the Parts where *Noah* ſettled (*b*); but his Children, who left him and travelled to *Shinaar*, quickly fell into other Politics. At the Time of the Con-

(*a*) Epiſt. 3. (*b*) Diodorus Siculus *ſays of the ancient Indians, that they every one took care,* ἐλεύθερον ὑπάρχοντα τὸν ἰσότητα τιμᾶν ἐν πᾶσι· τὰς γὰρ μαθόντας μηθ' ὑπερέχειν μηθ' ὑποπίπτειν ἄλλοις, κρεῖττον ἕξειν βίον πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς πολιτείας.

fuſion of Tongues, they had practiſed or cultivated but few of the Arts of providing for the Neceſſaries of Life; they had travelled from *Ararat* to *Shinaar*, and engaged in a wild Project to but little Purpoſe of building a Tower, but not laid any wiſe Schemes for a ſettled Life; but when they came to determine to till the Earth, it naturally offered, that thoſe who knew how to manage and direct in ordering the Ground, ſhould take under their Care thoſe who were not ſo skilful, and provide for them, employing them to work under their Directions. Husbandry, in the early Days before the Seaſons were known, was, as I have ſaid, very imperfect, and there were but few that can be ſuppoſed to have had much Skill in it; ſo that thoſe who had muſt every where have as many Hands at their Diſpoſal, as they knew how to employ, and quickly come to be attended with a great Number of Servants. It is very evident, that the Heads of *Abraham*'s Family acquired Servants in this manner very early; for *Abraham* himſelf tho' perhaps the greateſt Part of his Father's Houſe remained at *Haran* (*c*), and ſome Part were gone with *Lot* (*d*), before he had lived half his Life, was Maſter of three hundred eighteen Servants, nay they were [*Chanikei*] (*e*) trained Servants, or

(*c*) Gen. xi. 31. (*d*) Chap. xiii. (*e*) Chap. xiv. 14.

brought up to be Warriors; probably he had many others beſides theſe, and all theſe were born in his Houſe (*f*), and he had others bought with his Money (*g*): And thus it appears plainly that Servitude aroſe very early amongſt theſe Men. The Confuſion of Tongues broke all their Meaſures of living together, and they had lived a wandring Life, without cultivating any uſeful Arts to provide themſelves a Livelyhood; and when they came to ſettle, the unskilful Multitude found it their beſt way to take the Courſe which *Poſidonius* the *Stoic* mentions, to become voluntarily Servants to others, obliging themſelves to be at their Command, bargaining to receive the Neceſſaries of Life for it, ἔθελον δ' ἄνθρωποι πὰρ ἀυτοῖς καταμένειν ἐπὶ σιτίοις, ſays *Eubulus* (*h*); They knew not how to provide themſelves Food and Raiment, and were therefore deſirous to ſubmit to Maſters, who could provide theſe Things for them. It was no eaſy Thing for Men of little Genius and low Parts to live independent in thoſe early Days, and therefore Multitudes of People thought it ſafer to live under the Care and Proviſion of thoſe who knew how to manage, than to ſet up for themſelves; they thought like *Chalinus* in *Plautus*, who would not part with the

(*f*) Ibid. (*g*) Chap. xvii. 27. (*h*) Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis. Lib. 2. c. 5

Perſon promiſed him in Marriage, tho' he might have had his Liberty for her; but replied to his Maſter, *Liber ſi ſim, meo Periculo vivam, nunc vivo tuo* (*i*): He was well contented with his Condition; a Security of having Neceſſaries was in his Opinion a full Recompence for all the Inconveniences of a ſervile State. Many Families were raiſed in this manner perhaps amongſt *Nimrod*'s Subjects; and ſome of them, when they thought themſelves in a Condition for it, removed from under him, and planted Kingdoms in Countries at a Diſtance from him. Thus *Aſſhur* went out of his Land into *Aſſyria*, and with his Followers built Cities there (*k*); and many other leading Men, that had never lived ſubject to him, formed Companies in this manner, and planted them in Places which they choſe to ſettle in. *Abraham* had a very numerous Company before he had a paternal Right to govern any one Perſon; for he was not the eldeſt Son of his Father (*l*), nor was he the Father of one Child when he led his Men to fight with the King of *Elam* and his Confederates (*m*). And thus *Eſau*, who had but five Sons by his three Wives, beſides ſome Daughters (*n*), tho' he did not marry, nor attempt to ſettle in

(*i*) Plautus Caſina Act. 2. Scen. 4. (*k*) Gen. x. 11.
(*l*) Vol. I. B. 5. p. 273. (*m*) Gen. xiv.
(*n*) Gen. xxxvi.

the World until he was forty Years old, had, before he was an hundred, when he went to meet *Jacob* in his Return from *Laban*, a Family ſo numerous, as to afford him four hundred Men to attend him upon any Expedition (*o*), and with theſe and the Increaſe of them, his Children made themſelves Dukes, and in Time Kings of *Edom* (*p*): And thus it is certain, that Kingdoms were raiſed from Men of Prudence and Sagacity, taking and providing for a Number of Servants: Sometimes a very potent Kingdom from ſeveral of theſe Families agreeing to ſettle in it, under the Direction of him who had the Superior Family at the Time of their Settlement, or was beſt able to manage for the publick Welfare; at other times one Family became a Kingdom, nay and ſometimes one Family branched and divided it ſelf into ſeveral little Nations; for thus there were twelve Princes deſcended from *Iſhmael* (*q*). In all theſe caſes, the firſt Maſters of the Families began with a few Servants, encreaſed them by Degrees; and in Time, their Servants grew too numerous to be contained in one and the ſame Family with their Maſters; and when they did ſo, their Maſters appointed them a way of living, that ſhould

(*o*) Gen. xxxiii. 1. (*p*) Gen. xxxvi. (*q*) Gen. xvii. 20. xxv. 16.

not intirely free them from Subjection, but yet give them ſome Liberty and Property of their own. *Eumæus* in *Homer*, the Keeper of *Ulyſſes*'s Cattle, had a little Houſe, a Wife and Family, and Perquiſites, ſo as to have wherewith to entertain a Stranger in a manner ſuitable to the Condition of a Servant (*r*), whoſe Buſineſs was to manage his Maſter's Cattle, and to ſupply his Table from the Produce of them. *Tacitus* (*s*) informs us, that the Servants of the ancient *Germans* lived in this manner; they were not employed in domeſtic Attendance, but had their ſeveral Houſes and Families, and the Owner of the Subſtance committed to their Care required from them a Quantity of Corn, a Number of Cattle, or ſuch Cloathing or Commodities as he had Occaſion for. At firſt a Family could wander like that of *Abraham*; but by degrees it muſt multiply to too great a Bulk to be ſo moveable or manageable, and then the Maſter or Head of it ſuffered little Families to grow up within him, planting them here and there within the Extent of his Poſſeſſions, and reaping from their Labours a large and plentiful Proviſion for his own Domeſticks. In time when the Number of theſe Families encreaſed, He would want Inſpectors or Overſeers of his Servants in their ſeveral

(*r*) Odyſſ. l. 14. (*s*) Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

Employ-

Employments, and by degrees the Grandeur and Wealth of the Maſter encreaſed, and the Privileges of the Servants grew with it. Heads of Families became Kings, and their Houſes, together with the near Habitations of their Domeſtics, became Cities; and their Servants, in their ſeveral Occupations and Employments, became wealthy and conſiderable Subjects, and the Inſpectors or Overſeers of them became Miniſters of State, and Managers of the public Affairs of Kingdoms. If we conſider the ancient Tenures of Land in many Nations, we ſhall find abundant Reaſon to imagine, that the Property of Subjects in diverſe Kingdoms began from this Original. Kings, or Planters of Countries, employed their Servants to till the Ground, and in time both the Maſters and the Servants grew rich and encreaſed; the Maſters gave away their Lands to their Servants, reſerving only to themſelves Portions of the Product, or ſome Services of thoſe that had the Occupation; and thus Servants became Tenants, and Tenants in time became Owners, and Owners held their Lands under various Tenures, daily emerging into more and more Liberty, and in length of Time getting quit of all the Burthen, and even almoſt of the very Marks of Servitude, which Eſtates were at firſt encumber'd with. There may, I think, be many Reaſons offered, for thinking

that the Kingdom of *Aſſyria* firſt founded by *Aſhur*, the Kingdom of the *Medes*, and particularly that of *Perſia*, as well as other Kingdoms, remarkably ſubject by their moſt ancient Conſtitutions to *Deſpotic* Authority, were at firſt raiſed upon theſe Foundations. And perhaps the Kingdom of the *Philiſtins* governed by *Abimelech* in *Abraham*'s Time was of the ſame Sort; for that King ſeems to have had the Property of all the Land of *Philiſtia*, when he gave *Abraham* leave to live where he would (*t*), and *Abimelech*'s Subjects ſeem every where to be called his Servants (*u*); and *Abimelech*'s Fear and Concern about *Abraham*, was not upon account of his People, but of himſelf, and of his Son, and of his Son's Son (*w*). In the Days of *Iſaac*, when He went into the Land of the *Philiſtins* to ſojourn, about an hundred Years after the time that *Abraham* lived there, the *Philiſtins* ſeem from Servants to have become Subjects, in the way I have beforementioned, and accordingly *Moſes*'s Style of them is altered. The Perſons who in *Abraham*'s Time were called *Abimelech*'s Servants (*x*), were in *Iſaac*'s Time called *Abimelech*'s People (*y*), or the Men of *Gerar* (*z*), or the *Philiſtins* (*a*), or the

(*t*) Gen. xx. 15. (*u*) Ver. 8. & xxi. 25. (*w*) Ver. 23.
(*x*) Gen. xx. 8. & xxi. 25. (*y*) Chap. xxvi. Ver. 11.
(*z*) Ver. 7. (*a*) Ver. 14.

Herdſmen

Herdſmen of *Gerar* (*b*). In *Abraham*'s Time the Kingdom of *Philiſtia* was in its Infancy; in *Iſaac*'s Days, the King and his Servants with him were in a better Condition (*c*).

Moſt of the Kingdoms in and near *Canaan* ſeem to have been originally ſo conſtituted, that the People in them had great Liberties and Power. One would almoſt think the Children of *Heth* had no King, when *Abraham* petitioned them for a Burying-Place (*d*); for he did not make his Addreſs to a particular Perſon, but *he ſtood up and bowed himſelf to the People of the Land, even to the Children of Heth* (*e*). And when *Ephron* and he bargained, their Agreement was ratified by a popular Council (*f*). If *Heth* was King of this Country, his People had a great Share in the Adminiſtration: Thus it was at *Shechem*, where *Hamor* was King; the Prince determined nothing wherein the Public was concerned, without *communing with the Men of his City about it* (*g*). The Kingdom of *Egypt* was not at firſt founded upon *Deſpotic* Authority: The King had his Eſtates or Patrimony, the Prieſts

(*b*) Ver. 20. (*c*) I need not obſerve that *Abimelech* ſeems to be a proper Name for the Kings of *Philiſtia*, as *Pharaoh* was for thoſe of *Egypt*. And *Phicol* was ſo likewiſe for one employed in the Poſt, which the Perſons ſo named enjoy'd.
(*d*) Gen. xxiii. (*e*) Ver. 7. (*f*) Ver. 10. 13.
(*g*) Chap. xxxiv. 20, 24.

had

had their Lands, and the common People had their Patrimony independent of them both. Thus we read of the Land of *Rameſes* (*h*); that was the King's Land, ſo called from a King of that Name (*i*): The Prieſts had their Lands, which they did not ſell to *Joſeph* (*k*); and that the People had Lands independent of the Crown, is evident from the Purchaſes which *Joſeph* made (*l*), and we may conclude from theſe Purchaſes, that *Pharaoh* had no Power to raiſe Taxes upon his Subjects to encreaſe his own Revenue, until he had bought the Original Right, which each private Perſon had in his Poſſeſſions, for this *Joſeph* did for him; and after this was done, then *Joſeph* raiſed the Crown a very ample Revenue, by regranting all the Lands, reſerving a fifth Part of the Product to be paid to the King (*m*); and it is obſervable, that the People of *Egypt* well underſtood the Diſtinction between Subjects and Servants, for when they came to ſell their Land, they offered to ſell themſelves too, and deſired *Joſeph*; *buy us and our Land, and we and our Land will be Servants unto Pharaoh* (*n*). *Diodorus Siculus* has given a full and true Account of the ancient *E-*

(*h*) Gen. xlvii. 11. (*i*) *Rameſes* was the eighteenth King of Lower *Egypt*, according to Sir *J. Marſham* from *Syncellus*. (*k*) Gen. xlvii. 22. 26. (*l*) Ver. 19, 20. (*m*) Ver. 24. (*n*) Ver. 19.

gyptian

gyptian Conſtitution (*o*): He ſays the Land was divided into three Parts. 1. One Part was the Prieſts, with which they provided all Sacrifices, and maintained all the Miniſters of Religion. 2. A ſecond Part was the King's, to ſupport his Court and Family, and ſupply Expences for Wars if they ſhould happen; and he remarks, that the King having ſo ample an Eſtate, raiſed no Taxes upon his Subjects. 3. The Remainder of the Land was divided amongſt the Subjects: *Diodorus* calls them the Soldiers, not making a Diſtinction, becauſe Soldiers and Subjects in moſt Nations were the ſame, it being the ancient Practice for all that held Lands in a Kingdom, to go to War when Occaſion required; and he ſays, there were three other Orders of Men in the Kingdom, Husbandmen, Shepherds, and Artificers; but theſe were not ſtrictly ſpeaking Citizens of the Kingdom, but Servants or Tenants, or Workmen to thoſe who were the Owners of the Lands and Cattle. When *Mizraim* led his Followers into *Egypt*, it is moſt probable that many conſiderable Perſons joined their Families and went with him, and theſe Families being independent, until they agreed upon a Coalition for their common Advantage, it is natural to think, that they agreed upon a Plan which might gratify every Family,

(*o*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66.

and

and the Deſcendants of each of them, with a ſuitable Property, which they might improve as their own. *Herodotus* gives an Account of the *Egyptian* Polity (*p*). He ſays, that the *Egyptians* were divided into ſeven Orders of Men; but he takes in the Tillers of the Ground or Husbandmen, the Artificers, and the Shepherds, who were at firſt only Servants employed by the Maſters of the Families they belonged to, and not free Subjects of the Kingdom; and he adds an Order of Seamen, which muſt be of later Date. *Herodotus*'s Account might perhaps be true of their Conſtitution in Times much later, than thoſe I am treating of. There is one Thing very remarkable in the firſt Polities of Kingdoms, namely, that the *Legiſlators* paid a ſurprizing Deference to the *Paternal* Authority, or Juriſdiction which Fathers were thought to have over their Children, and were extremely cautious how they made any State-Laws that might affect it. When *Romulus* had framed the *Roman* Conſtitution, he did not attempt to limit the Powers, which Parents were thought to have over their Children; ſo that, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* obſerves, a Father had full Power, either to impriſon, or enſlave, or to ſell, or to inflict the ſevereſt corporal Puniſhments upon, or to

(*p*) Lib. 2. c. 164.

kill his Son, even tho' the Son at that very Time was in the higheſt Employments of the State, and bore his Office with the greateſt public Applauſe (*q*); and when *Numa* attempted to limit this extravagant Power, he carried his Limitation no further, than to appoint, that a Son, if married with his Father's Conſent, ſhould in ſome meaſure be freed from ſo unlimited a Subjection.

The firſt Legiſlators cannot be imagined to have attempted any other Improvements of their Country, than what would naturally ariſe from Agriculture, Paſturage, and Planting: Traffick began in after-Ages: And hence it ſoon appeared, that in fertile and open Countries, they had Abundance of People more than they could employ: For few Hands would quickly learn to produce a Maintenance for more than were neceſſary for the Tillage of the Ground, or the Care of the Cattle; but in mountainous and woody Countries, where fruitful and open Plains were rarely met with, Men multiplyed faſter than they could be maintained: And hence it came to paſs, that theſe Countries commonly ſent forth frequent Colonies and Plantations, when their Inhabitants were ſo numerous, that their *Land could not bear them, i. e.* could not produce a ſuffi-

(*q*) Dionyſ. Halicar. lib. 2. c. 26, 27.

cient

cient Maintenance for them: But in the more fruitful Nations, where greater Multitudes could be ſupported, the Kings had at their Command great Bodies of Men, and employed them either in raiſing prodigious Buildings, or formed them into powerful Armies; and thus in *Egypt* they built Pyramids, at *Babylon* they incompaſſed the City with Walls of an incredible Height and Thickneſs; and they conquered and brought into Subjection all the Nations round about them.

The firſt Kings laid no ſort of Tax upon their Subjects, for the Maintenance of either their Soldiers or Servants; but all the Tribute they took was from Strangers, and their own People were free; but they had in every Country larger Portions of Land than their Subjects, and whenever they conquered Foreign Kingdoms, they encreaſed their Revenue by laying an annual Tribute or Tax upon them. *Ninus* was the firſt King that took this Courſe (*r*), he over-ran all his Neighbours with his Armies, and obliged them to buy their Peace by paying yearly ſuch Tribute as he thought fit to exact from them. The conquered Nations, however free the Subjects of them were at Home, with regard to their own King, were yet juſtly ſaid to be under the Yoke of a Foreign Servitude, and were

(*r*) Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 1.

look'd

look'd upon by the King that had conquered them as larger Farms to yield him ſuch an annual Product, as he thought fit to ſet upon them; and the King and all the People of them, tho' they were commonly permitted to live according to their own Laws, were yet reputed the Conqueror's Servants. Thus the Kings of *Canaan*, when they became tributary, were ſaid to *ſerve Chedorlaomer* (*ſ*); and thus *Xerxes*, when *Pythius* the *Lydian*, preſuming upon his being in great Favour with the King, ventured to petition to have one of his Sons excuſed following the Army, remonſtrated to him, *that he was his Servant* (*t*). The *Perſians* are frequently called by *Cyrus* in *Xenophon* "Ανδρες Πέρσαι, or *Men of Perſia*, or Φίλοι, *the King's Friends*; and *Xerxes* keeps up in his Anſwer to *Pythius* the ſame Diſtinction, he mentions that his Children, his Relations, his Domeſtics, and then his natural Subjects, whom he calls his φίλους, went with him to the War: And dare you, ſays he, who are my Servant, ἐμὸς δοῦλος, talk of your Son? *Lydia* was a conquered Kingdom, and ſo *Pythius* and all the *Lydians* were the King's Property, to do with them as he thought fit. And they ſometimes uſed thoſe they had conquered accordingly, removing them out of one Nation into another as they pleaſed.

(*ſ*) Gen. xiv. 4. (*t*) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 99.

But

But I ſhould think the Extravagances of ambitious Conquerors not ſo much to be wondered at, as the Politics of *Ariſtotle*, who has laid down ſuch Principles, as, if true, would juſtify all the Wars and Bloodſhed that an ambitious Prince can be guilty of. He mentions War as one of the natural Ways of getting an Eſtate, for he ſays, "It is a Sort of Hunting, which is "to be made Uſe of againſt the wild "Beaſts, and againſt thoſe Men, who born "by Nature to Servitude, will not ſubmit "to it; ſo that a War upon theſe is natu-"rally juſt (*u*)."

Diodorus Siculus remarks (*w*), that it was not the ancient Cuſtom for Sons to ſucceed their Fathers and inherit their Crowns. This Obſervation was Fact in many Kingdoms; but then it could be only where Kingdoms were not raiſed upon Paternal or Deſpotic Authority: Where Paternal Authority took Place, the Kingdom would of courſe deſcend as that did, and the eldeſt Son become at his Father's Death the Ruler over his Father's Children: And where Kingdoms aroſe from Maſters and their Servants, the right Heir of the Subſtance would be the right Heir to the Crown: And this we find was the *Perſian* Conſtitution. The Subjects having originally been Servants, did not apprehend themſelves to have any Right or Pre-

(*u*) Ariſtot. Politic. l. 1. c. 8. (*w*) Hiſt. lib. 1. p. 28.

tence

tence ever to become Kings; but the Crown was always to be given to one of Royal Blood (*x*). But in Kingdoms, which were founded by a Number of Families uniting together by Agreement to form a Civil Society, the Subjects upon every Vacancy choſe a King as they thought fit, and the perſonal Qualifications of the Perſon to be elected, and not his Birth, procured his Election: Many Inſtances of this might be produced from the ancient Kingdoms of *Greece*, and very convincing ones from the firſt *Roman* Kings, of whom *Plutarch* obſerves, that none of them was ſucceeded in his Kingdom by his Son (*y*); and *Florus* has remarked of each of them ſeverally, what their Qualifications were which recommended them to the Choice of the People (*z*.) That *Egypt* was anciently an elective Kingdom is evident from *Plutarch (a)*, who remarks, that their Kings were taken either from amongſt their Soldiers or their Prieſts, as they had Occaſion for a Prince, of great Wiſdom or Valour. But whatever were the original Conſtitutions of Kingdoms, it is certain, that Power has always in all Nations been more or

(*x*) Briſſonius de Regno Perſarum, l. 1. (*y*) Plutarch. lib. de Animi Tranquillitate, p. 467. (*z*) L. Flor. Hiſt. Lib. I. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *See alſo* Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. I.

(*a*) Οἱ ὃ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ τῶν μαχίμων, τὸ μὲν δι' ἀνδρείαν, τὸ ὃ διὰ σοφίαν ἡνίκα ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντος.

leſs fluctuating between the Prince and the People, and many States have from Arbitrary Kingdoms become in Time Republics, and from Republics become in Length of Time arbitrary Kingdoms again, from various Accidents and Revolutions, as *Polybius* has obſerved at large (*b*).

It has been an ancient Opinion, that Kings had their Right to their Crowns by a ſpecial Appointment from Heaven: *Homer* is every where full of it: The Sceptres of his Kings were commonly given either to them or ſome of their Anceſtors by *Jupiter*; thus *Agamemnon*'s Sceptre was made by *Vulcan*, and by *Vulcan* given to *Jupiter*, by *Jupiter* to *Mercury*, by *Mercury* to *Pelops*, by *Pelops* to *Atreus*, by *Atreus* to *Thyeſtes*, by *Thyeſtes* to *Agamemnon* (*c*): And this Account came to be ſo firmly believed, that the Men of *Chæronea* paid Divine Worſhip to a Spear, which they ſaid was this Celeſtial Sceptre of *Agamemnon* (*d*): *Homer* places the Authority of all his Kings upon this Foundation, and he gives us his Opinion at large in the Caſe of *Telemachus* (*e*). He introduces *Antinous*

one

(*b*) Hiſtoriar. Lib. 6. (*c*) Il. 2. ver. 101. (*d*) Pauſanias in Bœoticis, p. 795. (*e*) Odyſſ. 1. ver. 388.

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος περιπύμνους ἀνίσιον μῦθον·
Καί κεν τῶτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διός γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι.
Ἀλλ' ἤτοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν εἰσὶ κὴ ἄλλοι
Πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοὶ,

Τὸν

one of the Suitors as alarm'd at the Threatnings of *Telemachus*, and therefore tho' he acknowledged his Paternal Right to the Crown of *Ithaca* when *Ulyſſes* ſhould be dead; yet he wiſhed that there might not be a Vacancy for him, for many Years. *Telemachus* in his Reply is made to ſpeak as if he depended but little upon an *Hereditary* Right, and ſays, That he ſhould willingly accept the Crown, if *Jupiter* ſhould give him it; but that there were Kings of *Greece*, and many Perſons of *Ithaca*, both Young and Old, who perhaps might have it at the Death of *Ulyſſes*; but that He would be Maſter of his Father's Houſe, Servants, and Subſtance: *Eurymachus* replies, and confirms what *Telemachus* had ſaid, aſſerting, that *Telemachus* ſhould certainly poſſeſs his Father's Houſe, Servants, and Subſtance; but that, as to who ſhould be King of *Ithaca*, it muſt be left to the Gods. *Romulus* endeavoured to build his Authority upon the ſame Foundation, and therefore when the People were diſpoſed to have him for their King, he refuſed to take the Honour, until the Gods ſhould

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Τῶν κέν τις τόδ' ἔχησιν, ἐπὶ θάνε δῖο Ὀδυσσεύς·
Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἶκοιο ἄναξ ἔσομ' ἠμετέροιο,
Καὶ δμῳὰς ἥς μοι λήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.
Τὸν δ' αὖ Εὐρύμαχος Πολύβου παῖς ἀντίον ηὔδα,
Τηλέμαχ', ἤτοι ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται,
Ὅστις ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν.

give ſome Sign to confirm it to him: And ſo upon an appointed Day, after due Sacrifices and Prayers offered to the Gods, he was conſecrated King by an auſpicious Thunder *(f)*. At what Time the Heathen Nations embraced theſe Sentiments I cannot certainly ſay, but I imagine not before God had appointed the *Iſraelites* a King. For the ancient Writers ſpeak of the Kings that reigned before that Time in no ſuch Strain, as may be ſeen from *Pauſanias*'s Accounts of the firſt Kings of *Greece*, as well as from other Writers; but when God had by ſpecial Appointment given the *Iſraelites* a King, the Kings of other Nations were fond of claiming to themſelves ſuch a Deſignation from Heaven, leſt they ſhould ſeem to fall ſhort in Honour and Glory of the *Jewiſh* Governours; and *Homer*, who according to *Herodotus* introduced a new *Theology (g)*, introduced alſo this Account of the Original of the Authority of the Kings into *Greece*. *Virgil* embraced the Scheme of *Homer*'s, and in Compliment to *Auguſtus*, the *Roman* Republic being overthrown, laid the Foundation of *Æneas*'s Right to govern the *Trojans*, who fled with him from the Ruins of their City, upon Divine Deſignation of him to be their King, revealed to him by the Apparition

(*f*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 1. (*g*) Herodot. lib. 2. c.

Hector (h), and confirmed by *Pantheus* the Prieſt of *Apollo*, who brought and delivered to him the *Sacra* and Sacred Images (*i*), which *Hector* had declared him the Guardian and Protector of.

It has been the Opinion of ſome Modern Writers, that theſe Ancients were very weak Politicians in Matters of Religion, and were an eaſy Prey to Prieſtcraft. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* is very copious upon this Topic *(k)*, and his Followers do commonly think his Argumentations of this Sort concluſive: Let us therefore examine how well they are grounded.

We have as full and large an Account of the firſt Settlement of the *Roman* Prieſthood as of any, ſo that I ſhall examine this firſt, and then add what may be offered about the eſtabliſhed Prieſthood of other Nations. And firſt of all, *Romulus* appointed, that the King ſhould be the Head, and Controuler of all the *Sacra* and Sacrifices (*l*), and under himſelf he appointed proper Perſons for the due Performance of the Offices of Religion, having firſt made a general Law, that none but the Nobility ſhould be employed either in Of-

(*h*) Virgil. Æn. 2. ver. 293. (*i*) Ibid. ver. 321, &c.
(*k*) Characteriſtics, Vol. 3. Miſcellany 2. (*l*) Βασιλεῖ μὲν ἔν ἐξήρητο τάδε τὰ γέρα· πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, καὶ πάντα δι' ἐκείνου πρᾶττεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια. Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. §. 13.

fices of the State, or of Religion (*m*); and the particular Qualifications of the Prieſts were (*n*), 1. They were to be of the beſt Families. 2. They were to be Men of the moſt eminent Virtue. 3. They were to be Perſons who had an Eſtate ſufficient to live on. And 4. Without any bodily Blemiſh or Imperfection. 5. They were to be above fifty Years of Age: Theſe were the Qualifications requiſite for their being admitted into the Religious Order. Let us now ſee what they were to get by it; and, 1. They were put to no Expence in the Performance of their Miniſtrations; for as the King had in his Hands Lands ſet apart on Purpoſe for the providing the public Sacrifices, building and repairing Temples, Altars, and bearing all the Expences of Religion, ſo a ſet Sum was paid to the Prieſts of each Diviſion, to bear the Expences of their Sacrifices. 2. They themſelves were exempted from the Fatigue of going to War, and from bearing City Offices. 3. Beſides theſe ſlender Privlieges, I do not find they received any Profits from their Office; for it is evident they had no Stipend nor Salaries; for Miniſters of State, and Miniſters of Religion alſo, had no Advantages of this ſort in the

(*m*) Διέταξεν πρὸς μὲν ἐυπατείδας ἱερᾶσθαί τε, καὶ ἀγεῖν καὶ δικάζειν, καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν. Id. ibid. c. 9.
(*n*) Id. ibid. c. 21.

ear

early Times (*o*), as is abundantly evident from one of the Reaſons given for chooſing the Nobility only to theſe Employments, namely, becauſe the *Plebeians* or common People could not afford to give away their Time in attending upon them: As to the Number of them, which Lord *Shaftsbury* thinks was without End or Meaſure, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* tells us, that no City ever had ſo many originally as *Rome*, and he obſerves that *Romulus* appointed ſixty (*p*); telling us withal elſewhere, that his People were, when he firſt ſettled the Common-wealth, two thouſand three hundred Men, beſides Women and Children; and when he died, they were above forty thouſand (*q*). There were indeed, over and beſides theſe, three Augurs or ἱερασκόποι, appointed by *Romulus*, and there were afterwards three *Flamens*, who, I think, were firſt inſtituted by *Numa*; as were the *Veſtal* Virgins who were in Number four (*r*), and the *Salii* who were in Number twelve (*ſ*): He inſtituted alſo the College of the *Feciales*, who were in Number twenty (*t*); but theſe were chiefly employed in Civil Affairs; for they were the *Arbitrators* of all Controverſies relating to War or Peace, and

(*o*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 9. (*p*) Id. ibid. c. 21. (*q*) Id. c. 16. (*r*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 2. (*ſ*) Id. ibid. (*t*) Id. ibid. Plutarch in Numâ.

Heralds and Embaſſadors to Foreign States *(u)*: Laſtly, *Numa* appointed the *Pontifices Maximi*, being four in Number, of which himſelf was the firſt *(w)*, and theſe Perſons were the ſupreme Judges of all Matters Civil or Religious; but all theſe Officers were choſen out of the nobleſt and wealthieſt Families, and they brought Wealth into, and added Luſtre to the Offices they bore, inſtead of coming into them for the ſake of Lucre and Advantage. If we were to look further into the *Roman* State, we ſhould find ſome Additions made to the Number of the Miniſters of Religion, as the City grew in Wealth and Power; for when the *Plebeians* grew wealthy, and were able to bear them, they would not be excluded from Religious Offices, and ſo there were in Time twelve *Flamens* elected from the Commons, and there were twelve *Salii* added to *Numa's* twelve by *Tullus Hoſtilius*. *Tarquinius Superbus* appointed two Officers to be the Keepers of the *Sibylline* Oracles, and their Number was afterwards encreaſed to ten, and by *Sylla* to fifteen, and in later Ages they had particular *Flamens* for particular Deities; but take an Eſtimate of the *Roman* Religion, when their Prieſts were moſt numerous, at any Time from the

(u) Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. 2. (w) Id. ibid. Plut. in Num.

building of the City to *Julius Cæſar*, and it will appear that ancient *Rome* was not overburthened with either the Number or Expence of the Religious Orders. But let us in the next Place look into *Greece*.

Dionyſius of *Halicarnaſſus* frequently remarks of *Romulus*'s Religious Inſtitutions, that they were formed according to the *Greek* Plans; ſo that we may gueſs in general, that the *Greeks* were not more burthened in theſe Matters, than he burthened the *Romans*; eſpecially if we conſider what he remarks upon *Numa*'s Inſtitutions, that no Foreign City whatever, whether *Grecian* or of any other Country, had ſo many Religious Inſtitutions as the *Romans* (*x*), a Remark he had before made, even when *Romulus* ſettled the firſt Orders (*y*). The Writers of the *Greek* Antiquities are pretty much at a Loſs to enumerate the ſeveral Orders of their Prieſts (*z*), and they name but few, and theſe rather the Aſſiſtants than the Prieſts that offered the Sacrifices. And I imagine, the true Reaſon that we have no larger Account of them, is, becauſe there were in the moſt ancient Times no particular Perſons ſet apart for theſe Offices in the *Grecian* States; but the Kings and Rulers performed the public Offices of Religion

(*x*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 2. §. 63. (*y*) Id. ibid. §. 21.
(*z*) See Potter's Antiquities, Book 2. c. 3.

for

for their People, and every Maſter of a Family ſacrificed in private for himſelf, his Children and Servants. If we look over *Homer*'s Poems, we ſhall find this Obſervation verified by many Inſtances. After *Agamemnon* was conſtituted the Head of the *Grecian* Army, we find him every where at the public Sacrifices performing the Prieſt's Office (*a*), and the other *Grecian* Kings and Heroes had their Parts under him in the Miniſtration; and thus *Peleus* the Father of *Achilles* performed the Office of Prieſt in his own Kingdom, when *Neſtor* and *Ulyſſes* went to ſee him, and *Patroclus*, *Achilles* and *Menœtius* miniſtred (*b*); and *Achilles* offered the Sacrifices, and performed the Funeral Rites for *Patroclus* (*c*); and thus again in the *Odyſſey*, when *Neſtor* made a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, *Stratius* and the Noble *Echephron* led the Bull to the Altar, *Aretus* brought the Water, and Caniſters of Corn, *Perſeus* brought the Veſſel to receive the Blood; but *Neſtor* himſelf made the Libations and began the Ceremony with Prayers; the magnanimous *Thraſymedes* Son of *Neſtor* knock'd down the Oxe; then the Wife of *Neſtor*, his Daughters, and his Sons Wives offered their Prayers; then *Piſiſtratus* ὁ χαμῶ. ἄνδρων, perhaps the Captain of his

(*a*) Iliad. γ. Iliad. π. & in al. loc. (*b*) Il. λ. (*c*) Il. ψ.

Hoſt

Hoſt, an Officer in ſuch a Poſt as *Phicol* under *Abimelech (d)*, ſtabbed the Beaſt: Then they all joined in cutting it in Pieces and diſpoſing it upon the Altar, and after all was ready

Καῖε δ' ὅπι χίζης ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον
Λείβε·

Neſtor himſelf was the Prieſt and offered the Sacrifice (*e*). Many Inſtances of this Sort might be brought from both *Iliad* and *Odyſſey*. If we examine the Accounts which the beſt Hiſtorians give us, they all tend to confirm this Point: *Lycurgus* was remarkably frugal in the Sacrifices he appointed (*f*), and the *Lacedemonians* had no public Prieſts in his Days, nor for ſome Time after, but their Kings: *Plutarch* tells us, that when they went to Battle, the King performed the Sacrifice (*g*); and *Xenophon* ſays, that the King performed the public Sacrifices before the City (*h*), and that in the Army his chief Buſineſs was, to have the ſupreme Command of the Forces, and to be their Prieſt in the Offices of Religion (*i*): and this was the Practice when *Ageſilaus* was choſen King of *Sparta*; for after he was made King, he offered

(*d*) Gen. xxvi. 26.
(*e*) Odyſſ. γ. ver. 430, &c.
(*f*) Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 52.
(*g*) Ibid. p. 53.
(*h*) Xenoph. Lib. de Repub. Lacedæm.
(*i*) Id. ibid.

the

the uſual Sacrifices for the City (*k*). And in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, he would have ſacrificed at *Aulis* a Town of *Bœotia*, as *Agamemnon* did upon undertaking the *Trojan* War, but the *Thebans* not being well affected to him or to the *Lacedemonians*, would not permit him (*l*). In a Word, we have no Reaſon to think, from any Thing we can find in the *Greek* Hiſtory, that the ancient *Greeks*, until ſome Ages after *Homer*, had any other public Miniſters of Religion, than thoſe who were the Kings and Governours of the State. Fathers of Families (even tho' they were in reality but Servants) were Prieſts to thoſe who lived under their Direction, and offered all ſorts of Sacrifices for them, and performed all the Miniſtrations of Religion at their Domeſtic Altars, and thus the Practice of Religious Offices was performed in the ſeveral Parts of every Kingdom amongſt the ſeveral Families that inhabited it: The public or national Religion appeared at the Head of their Armies, or at the Court only, where the King was perſonally preſent, and performed the Offices of it for himſelf and all his People.

There are ſome Perſons mentioned by *Homer*, and called ἱερέες or Prieſts, and they offered the Sacrifices even when Kings and

(*k*) Xenoph. Hellenic. Lib. 3. (*l*) Id. ibid.

the

the greateſt Commanders attended at the Altars: Thus *Chryſes* the Prieſt of *Apollo* burnt the Sacrifice, which *Ulyſſes* and his Companions went to offer at *Chryſa*, when they reſtored *Briſeis* to her Father (*m*); but this is ſo far from contradicting what I have offered, that it intirely coincides with and confirms it: *Chryſa* was a little Iſle in the *Egean* Sea, of which *Chryſes* was Prieſt and Governor, and when *Ulyſſes* was come into his Dominions, it was *Chryſes*'s Place to offer the Sacrifice, and not *Ulyſſes*'s. There were in the ancient Times many little Iſlands, and ſmall Tracts of Land, where Civil Government was not ſet up in Form, but the Inhabitants lived together in Peace and Quiet, by and under the Direction of ſome very eminent Perſon, who ruled them by wiſe Admonitions, and by teaching them Religion; and the Governours of theſe Countries affected rather the Name of Prieſts than Kings; thus *Jethro* is called by *Moſes* not the King, but the Prieſt of *Midian*; and thus *Chryſes* is called the Prieſt of *Apollo* at *Chryſa*, and not the King of *Chryſa*; tho' both He and *Jethro* were the Governors of the Countries they lived in. If at any Time they and their People came to form a Political Society, upon more expreſs Terms and Conditions, then we find theſe Sort of

(*m*) Homer. Il. 1.

Per-

Perſons called both Prieſts and Kings, and in this manner *Melchizedec* was King of *Salem*, and Prieſt of the Moſt High God (*n*), and *Anius* was King of *Delos*, and Prieſt of *Apollo* (*o*). Theſe ſmall States could have but little Power to ſupport themſelves againſt the Incroachments of their Neighbours: Their Religion was their greateſt Strength; and it was their happieſt Circumſtance, that their Kings or Governors were conſpicuous for their Religion, and thought Sacred by their Neighbours, being reputed in an eminent Senſe to be high in the Favour of the God, whom they particularly worſhipped; ſo as to render it dangerous for any to violate their Rights, or to injure the People under their Protection, as the *Grecians* are ſaid to have experienced, when they refuſed to reſtore *Briſeis* to her Father.

It is thought by ſome very judicious Writers, that the Word ἱερεὺς is ſometimes uſed for a Perſon, who was not ſtrictly ſpeaking a Prieſt, but a Diviner from the Entrails of Victims; thus *Achilles* in *Homer* (*p*), when the Peſtilence raged in the *Grecian* Camp, adviſed

——— τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
Ἦ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον· ———

to ſend for either a μάντις or prophet, or

(*n*) Gen. xiv. 18. (*o*) Virgil. Æn. 3. ver. 80. (*p*) Homer. Il. 1.

an

an ἱερεὺς, or an ὀνειροπόλος a Diviner by Dreams, to inform them how to appeaſe *Apollo*; but I imagine the Ἱερεὺς here mentioned, was ſome one of theſe *Inſular* Prieſts or Kings, of whom all their Neighbours had an high Opinion for their great Skill in Matters of Religion, upon which Account they uſed to be frequently ſent to, or ſent for, as the Occaſions of their Neighbour-States required the Aſſiſtance of their Advice and Direction. Such a King and Prieſt was *Rhamnes* in *Virgil* (*q*),

Rex idem, & Regi Turno gratiſſimus Augur.

Amongſt the true Worſhippers of God, ſome Perſons were very ſignally diſtinguiſhed from others by extraordinary Revelations of God's Will made to them. *Abraham* was received by *Abimelech* as a Prophet (*r*); and God was pleaſed to make his Will known to theſe Perſons by Viſions or by Dreams (*ſ*), and ſometimes by audible Voices and divine Appearances: And when any Perſons were known to be thus highly favoured of God, Kings and great Men paid a Regard to them, and were willing to conſult them upon Difficulties and emergent Occaſions, and were

(*q*) Æn. 9. ver. 327. (*r*) Gen. xx. 7. (*ſ*) Numb. xii. 6.

glad

glad to have them, not to ſacrifice for them, which there was no Occaſion they ſhould do, but to pray for them; for their Prayers were thought more than ordinarily available with God (*t*); and this Order of Men, namely the Prophets, are frequently mentioned in Scripture: And as God was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh his true Servants by the Gifts of Propheſie; ſo in all the Heathen Nations diverſe Perſons imitated theſe Powers, and made it their Buſineſs in various Manners by Art and Study to qualify themſelves to know the Will of their Gods, and to diſcover it to Men; and Perſons thought to be thus qualified, were in every Kingdom retained by Kings and Rulers, or if they had them not at Hand, they ſent for them upon Occaſion to direct in emergent Affairs, and difficult Circumſtances. *Balaam* the Son of *Beor* had the Character of a Prophet in the Nations round about the Place where he lived, and therefore *Balak* in his Diſtreſs about the *Iſraelites* ſent for him *to Pethor, which is by the River of the Land of the Children of his People* (*u*); and when *Balaam* was come to *Balak*, *Balak* was ordinarily the Sacrificer, and *Balaam*'s Employment was, to report to him any Revelations it ſhould pleaſe God to make him

(*t*) Gen. xx. 7.

(*u*) Numb. xxii.

about

about the *Iſraelites* (*w*): And thus when the Chiefs of *Greece* offered their Sacrifices, *Calchas* attended, and explained an *Omen* which put them in great Surprize (*x*). In Length of Time, the Number of the Heathen Prophets encreaſed greatly, there were many of them in *Egypt* in the Days of *Moſes*, and of ſeveral Orders (*y*), and there were four Orders of them at *Babylon* in the Time of *Daniel*, namely, the *Chartummim* or *Magicians*, the *Aſhapim* or *Aſtrologers*, the *Chaſdim* or *Chaldeans*, and the *Mechaſepim* or *Sorcerers* (*z*); but they were not numerous in *Greece* until after the Times, which I am to treat of; for when *Ageſilaus* was made King of *Sparta*, about *A. M.* 3600; which is above 300 Years after the Building of *Rome*, and near as much later than the Time where I am to end this Undertaking, when *Ageſilaus* was to offer the Sacrifices for the City, he had only one μάντις or Prophet attending to inform him of what might be revealed to him at the Time of his Sacrifices, as *Agamemnon* in *Homer* is deſcribed to have had at the *Trojan* War. There were another Sort of Officers attending upon the Sacrifices, called the κήρυκες, or in *Latin Præcones*, and their Buſineſs was to call together the People,

(*w*) Numb. xxiii. 30. (*x*) Il. 2. (*y*) Exod. vii. 11.
(*z*) Dan. ii. 2.

when Aſſemblies were appointed, and they were frequently ſent Ambaſſadors, or rather as Heralds from State to State, and they aſſiſted at Sacrifices in dividing the Victims, and diſpoſing the ſeveral Parts of the Offering in due Form upon the Altar (*a*), before the Prieſts kindled the Fire to burn it; but I cannot find any Reaſon to think that the *Greeks* had, at the Time that *Rome* was built, ſo many Perſons ſet apart to attend upon the Religious Offices, as even *Romulus* appointed at the firſt Building of his City.

If we go into *Aſia:* As Men were planted there, and Cities built, and Governments eſtabliſhed earlier than in *Greece*; ſo we find, as I juſt now hinted, that the *Wiſe Men* of *Babylon* were numerous in the Days of *Daniel*: When they began there, I cannot ſay, but I am apt to think their firſt Riſe was from *Belus* the *Egyptian*, the Son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, who travelled from *Egypt*, and carried with him a Number of *Egyptian* Prieſts, and obtained Leave to ſit down at *Babylon*, where the King, who then ruled there, gave them great Encouragement upon account of their Skill in Aſtronomy. Of this *Belus* I ſhall ſpeak more hereafter. His coming to *Babylon* was about the Time of *Moſes* (*b*); but I would obſerve that the Kings of theſe

(*a*) Homer. Il. in loc. var.

(*b*) See Book VIII.

Nations

Nations had not parted with their Prieſthood in the Days of *Cyrus*, for *Xenophon* is very expreſs in his Accounts of that Prince's performing the public Sacrifices, in many Places (*c*).

Egypt was the Parent of almoſt all the Superſtitions that overflowed the World, and it is particularly remarked, that the Prieſts in the moſt ancient Times were more numerous here, and far more magnificently provided for, than in other Nations. They had Lands ſettled upon them in the Time of *Joſeph* (*d*), and according to *Diodorus Siculus* a third Part of the whole Land of *Egypt* was theirs (*e*): And Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Triumphs here run very high againſt the Church-Lands, and the *Landed Clergy*, as he is pleaſed to call the *Egyptian* Prieſts of theſe Times: This right Honourable Writer aſſerts, "That the Magiſtrate, according to the *Egyptian* Regulation, had reſigned his Title or Share of Right in Sacred Things, and could not govern as he pleaſed, nor check the growing Number of theſe Profeſſors (*f*). And that in this Mother Land of Superſtition the Sons of *theſe* Artiſts were by Law obliged always to follow the ſame Calling with their Fa-

(*c*) Lib. de Cyropæd. l. 2. l. 3. l. 8. *&c.* (*d*) Gen. xlvii.
(*e*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (*f*) Miſcellaneous Reflect. Characteriſtics, Vol. III.

" thers. Thus the Son of a Prieſt was al-
" ways a Prieſt by Birth, as was the whole
" Lineage after him without Interrupti-
" on." There are a great many other Par-
ticulars enlarged upon by this Author, which I chooſe to paſs over. If I give an Account of the *Egyptian* Prieſthood from what the ancient Writers hint about it, that alone will ſhew, how widely ſome Writers err in their Accounts of ancient Facts, out of Humour and Inclination to reflect upon the *Church* and *Clergy*. Religion was in the early Times lookt upon by all the Nations in the World as a poſitive Inſtitution of God, and it was as firmly believed, that none could be the Miniſters of it, but thoſe Perſons whom God himſelf had appointed to perform the Offices of it. *Ariſtotle* indeed, who threw off Tradition, and founded his Opinions upon what he thought to be the Dictates of right Reaſon, ſeems to give every State or Community a Power of appointing their Miniſters of Religion, hinting at the ſame time, that the Citizens of an advanced Age, who were paſt engaging in laborious Employments for the Service of the Public, were the proper Perſons to be appointed to the Sacred Offices (*g*); but *Plato*, who had a greater Regard to the ancient Cuſtoms and Traditions, makes a Divine Deſignation abſo-

(*g*) Ariſtot. de Repub. Lib. 7. cap. 9.

lutely

lutely neceſſary for the rightly authorizing any Perſon to perform the Offices of Religion: He adviſes the Founders of Cities, if they could find any Prieſts, who had received their Office from their Fathers, in a long Succeſſion backward, to make uſe of them; but that if ſuch could not be had, but that ſome muſt be created, that they would leave the Choice to the Gods, appointing proper Candidates, and chooſing out of them by Lot, ſuch as the Deity ſhould cauſe the Lot to fall to; and that they ſhould ſend to the Oracle at *Delphos* to be directed what Rites, Ceremonies and Laws of Religion they ſhould eſtabliſh (*h*): This was the ancient univerſal Senſe of all Nations; and we may obſerve that both *Romulus* and *Numa* took care at leaſt to ſeem to act according to theſe Maxims. *Romulus* built his City by Conſultation with the *Etruſcan Haruſpices* (*i*), and upon his appointing new Orders of Prieſts, he made a Law to devolve the confirming them to the *Vates* or *Augurs*, who were to declare to the People the Will of the Gods about them (*k*): And *Numa* was thought to do nothing but by Inſpiration, pretending the Directions of the Goddeſs *Egeria* for all his Inſtitutions (*l*). The

(*h*) Platon. de Legibus, l. 6. p. 860. (*i*) Plutarch. in Vitâ Romuli. (*k*) Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 2. c. 12. (*l*) Id. ib. c. 60. Plutarch. in Vit. Numæ. Florus, l. 1. c. 3.

moſt ancient Prieſthood was that which Fathers or Heads of Families exerciſed in and for their own Families and Kindred; and the Divine Inſtitution of this was what all Nations were ſo fully convinced of, that the public and eſtabliſhed Religions did not ſuperſede it, but left it as they found it; ſo that tho' private Perſons, who were not publickly called to that Office, might not offer Sacrifices on the public Altars, yet each Head of a Family was Prieſt for his own Family at his private *Focus*, or domeſtic Altar; and theſe Private or Family-Prieſts, I imagine, were the Perſons whom *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſpeaks of, as having τὰς συγγενικὰς ἱερωσύνας, or a Prieſthood over thoſe of the ſame Lineage with themſelves (*m*); and what Reverence and Regard was paid them, may by gueſſed by the Obſervation of *Athenæus*, who remarks, that of all Sacrifices thoſe were eſteemed the moſt Sacred, which a Man offered for his own Domeſtics (*n*); and indeed they might well be ſo accounted, the Perſons that offered them being perhaps the only Perſons in the Heathen Nations, who had a juſt Right to offer any Sacrifices.

(*m*) Dionyſ. Antiq. Rom. L. 2. c. 21. (*n*) Ὁσιωτάτη γὰρ ἡ θυσία θεοῖς καὶ προσφιλεστάτη ἡ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων. Athenæus Deipnoſoph. l. 1. c. 8.

As

As this Senſe of Things appears not to have been extinguiſhed even in the Times of *Romulus*, nay even Ages after him; ſo it is moſt probable, that Men kept very ſtrict to it in the firſt Times: And we muſt not ſuppoſe, that at the firſt erecting Kingdoms and Civil Societies, the ſeveral Bodies of Men appointed whom they would to be their Prieſts: It is more likely, that they thought, as *Plato* the great Maſter of the ancient Cuſtoms and Traditions of all Nations did, that the Prieſthood which had deſcended from Father to Son, was ſtill to be retained (*o*); and accordingly, where Kingdoms were originally planted by but one ſingle Family, the King or Head of that one Family might be the ſole public Miniſter of Religion to all his People; but where Kingdoms were originally peopled by many Families independant of each other, they might agree to inſtitute, that the Perſons who in private Life had been Prieſts of the ſeveral Families of which the Body politic was conſtituted, ſhould become jointly the national Prieſts to all the Land: And thus the *Egyptian* Prieſts might be originally the Heads of the ſeveral Families that conſtituted the Kingdom. That this Conjecture does not err much, if any thing, from the Truth,

(*o*) Ἱερῶν δ' ἱερέας οἷς μὲν εἰσι πάτριαι ἱερωσύναι μὴ κινεῖν. Plat. de Legibus, lib. 6. p. 860.

will appear to any one that conſiders duely the ancient *Egyptian* Polity: For, 1. They thought their Prieſts almoſt equal in Dignity to their Kings; and the Prieſts had a great Share in the Adminiſtration of Affairs; for they continually attended to adviſe, direct and aſſiſt in the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom *(p)*. 2. They thought it an Irregularity to have any one made their King, who was not one of their Prieſts; but if it did ſo happen, as in Length of Time it ſometimes did, the Perſon who was to *(q)* be King was obliged to be firſt received into the Order of Prieſts, and then was capable of the Crown. 3. Whenever a Prieſt died, his Son was made Prieſt in his Room (*r*). I am ſenſible, that the very Particulars I have produced, are frequently made uſe of to hint the great Aſcendant, which Prieſtcraft and Religion gained over King and People in the Land of *Egypt*; but no one truly verſed in Antiquity can uſe them to this Purpoſe: It was not the Prieſthood, that by Religious Craft raiſed the Poſſeſſors of it in ancient Times to the higheſt Stations and Dignity; but rather, none but Perſons of the higheſt Stations and Dignity were

(*p*) Καθόλα γὰρ περὶ τὸ μεγίσων ἕτοι προσβαλλόμενοι συμδιατείθεσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸ μὲ συνεργοὶ, τὸ δ' ἐπηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 66.

(*q*) Plato in Politico, p. 550. Plutarch. Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 354. (*r*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 37.

thought

thought capable of being Prieſts, and ſo of conſequence the Men of this Order could not but ſhine with double Luſtre: They were as great as the Civil State could make them, before they entered upon Religious Miniſtrations, for it was reckoned a monſtrous Thing to make Prieſts of the meaneſt of the People (*ſ*); and accordingly *Romulus* appointed the Nobleſt and the Wealthieſt of the *Senators* for theſe Offices (*t*); and *Joſephus* was ſenſible, that this was the univerſal Practice of all the Heathen Nations, and therefore remarks how equitably the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood was at firſt founded, that great Wealth and Poſſeſſions were not the Requiſites to qualify the Perſons who were put into it, for their Admiſſion into the Sacred Order (*u*), which he muſt know to be required in all Heathen Nations, or his Argument had been of little Force. Divine Appointment placed the Prieſthood at firſt in the Head of every Family, and Men did not for many Ages take upon them to make Alterations in this Matter. When *Mizraim* and his Followers ſat down in *Egypt*, *Mizraim* was the Prieſt and Governour of his own Family; and the Leading Men that followed him were, by the ſame Right, each Head of a Family, Prieſt and Governour of thoſe

(*ſ*) 1 Kings xiii. 33. (*t*) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 2.
(*u*) Joſephus contra Apion. l. 2. p. 1379.

that

that belonged to him; and what Coalition could be more eaſy, or what Civil Government, or Religious *Hierarchy* better grounded, unleſs they had had a ſpecial Direction for their Polity from Heaven, as the *Iſraelites* afterwards had, than for *Mizraim* and his Followers to agree, that one of them ſhould have the Preſidence or Superiority, and that they ſhould all unite to promote Religion, Order and Government amongſt their Children and their Deſcendants? And this was the firſt Polity in *Egypt*; which if duely conſidered will give a clear Account of what I obſerved of the Honour paid to the *Egyptian* Prieſts. 1. Their Prieſts were thought almoſt equal in Dignity to their Kings, and were joined with them in the public Counſels and Adminiſtrations: And ſurely, it cannot be thought a great Uſurpation for them to claim this Honour: They were, every one, Heads of Families as the King himſelf was, and ſubordinate to him only for the Purpoſes of Civil Life. 2. The Kings were commonly choſen out of the Prieſts, or if any other Perſon became King, he was obliged to be admitted into the Prieſt's Order before he received the Crown; an Appointment not improper, if we conſider that, according to this Conſtitution of the *Egyptian* Government, all but the Prieſts were by Nature ſubject to ſome or other of the Prieſts, and they only were the Perſons

ſons who could have a *paternal* Right to govern, and every other Order of Men in *Egypt* owed to them a *filial* Duty and Obedience. 3. Whenever a Prieſt died, his Son was appointed Prieſt in his Room; *Herodotus* ſays, ἐπεὰν ὃ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τότε ὁ παῖς ἀνίκατίζεται (w); not as Lord *Shaftsbury* repreſents it, that all the Children of the Prieſts were obliged by Law to follow the Calling of their Fathers; but the [ὁ Παῖς, not Παῖδες] not the Sons, but the eldeſt Son was appointed Prieſt in his Room; ſo that they only endeavoured to preſerve that Order, which God himſelf originally appointed, and their Prieſthood could not hereby become more numerous, than the original Families that firſt planted the Land. It is remarkable, that the Service of the Altar would naturally have deſcended much in this manner amongſt the *Iſraelites*, if God had not thought fit by a new Inſtitution to have the whole Tribe of *Levi* ſet apart for the Miniſtry inſtead of the Firſt-born of their ſeveral Families. The *Egyptian* Prieſthood thus conſidered, will not appear ſo extravagant as ſome Writers have imagined; nor will the Diviſion of the Land, ſuppoſing that even a third Part of it was the Prieſts, be liable to ſo much Cenſure and Odium, as theſe Authors delight to throw upon it; for the Perſons,

(w) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 37.

who

who as Prieſts ſeem to have had too much
were in Truth the whole Body of the No-
bility of the Land, and the *Egyptian* Po-
lity was really this and no other: The King
had a third Part of the Land for his Share
as King, to enable him to defray his pub-
lic Expences without Tax or Burthen to
his Subjects: The Nobility or Heads of
the ſeveral Families had a third Part, and
they were to furniſh all the Expences for
Religion, and to perform all the Offices of
it, without any Charge to the People: The
common Subjects had the remaining third
Part not encumbred, with either any Tax
to the King, or Expence upon Account of
Religion: And I imagine, that the Com-
mons or *Plebeians* have in few Kingdoms
had a larger Property in Land, than this is.

The *Aſiatic* Prieſthoods are in general
ſaid to have had a very exorbitant Power
over the State. I wiſh the Authors of this
Opinion were particular in pointing out
the Times and Places when and where. I
cannot apprehend, that the Religious Or-
ders had ſo overbearing either Influence or
Intereſt at *Babylon* in the Time of *Nebu-
chadnezzar*, when he threatned to cut
them all in Pieces, and to make their Hou-
ſes a Dung-hill (*x*), and gave Orders to
deſtroy them all, for their not anſwering
him in a Point, in which it was impoſſible

(*x*) Dan. ii. 5.

they ſhould anſwer him (*y*); for as *Daniel* obſerved, *the Secret was not revealed to* Him *for any Wiſdom, that he had more than any Living* (*z*); and he remarked, that the wiſe Men of *Babylon* could not poſſibly diſcover it (*a*). A fair and juſt Repreſentation of the ancient Heathen Religions, would ſhew that it was not Prieſtcraft that ruled the Heathen World; but that Kings and great Men having had originally in their Hands the Offices of Religion, turned the whole into State-Policy, and made it a mere Art to govern their Kingdoms by, and to carry forward their Deſigns: Theſe were *Plutarch*'s Thoughts upon this Subject, when he imagined all the Arts of Divination from Dreams, Prodigies, Omens, *&c.* to be of Service [not to the Religious Orders, but] to States-men, in order to their (*b*) managing the Populace, as the public Affairs ſhould require: And to this Uſe Kings and Rulers did in theſe Times put all their Power and Prudency in the Offices of Religion, until they had vitiated and corrupted every Part and Branch of it. It is indeed true, that

(*y*) Dan. ii. 10, 11. 27, 28, 30. (*z*) Ver. 30. (*a*) Ver. 27.

(*b*) Ὀνείρατα καὶ φάσματα, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ὄγκον —— πολιτικοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι, καὶ πρὸς ἀιθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὄχλον ἀναγκασμοῖς ζῆν ἐκ ἀχρήσιμον ἴσως ὄξιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ χαλινῶ τῆ δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀνθισπάσαι καὶ μετασῆσαι τοὺ πολλούς. Plutarch. lib. de Genio Socratis, p. 580.

God

God in the firſt Ages made ſo many Revelations of his Will to particular Perſons, as might, one would think, have check'd the Career of Idolatry and Superſtition; but we do not find, that the Rulers of Nations were often willing to allow an Order of Prophets in their Kingdoms to be employed purely to find out and publiſh to them the Will of Heaven, any further than their Political Views might be ſerved by it: When *Balak* the Son of *Zippor* ſent for *Balaam*, the Employment he had for him was to curſe the *Iſraelites*, in order to put Life and Courage into his People, whoſe Spirits were ſunk by the Conqueſts which *Iſrael* had obtained over the *Amorites (c)*; and we ſee in him an early Inſtance what an Eſtimate the Heathen Kings had formed of Prophets and their Inſpiration: When *Balak* thought that *Balaam* might have been won to ſerve his Purpoſe, then he complimented him, with pretending to believe, that *He, whom he bleſſed, was bleſſed, and he whom he curſed, was curſed (d)*; but when *Balaam* did not anſwer his Expectation, he paid no Regard to him, but diſmiſſed him in Anger; *Therefore now flee thou to thy Place: I thought to promote thee to great Honour, but lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from Honour (e)*.

(c) Numb. xxii. 3, 4, 5. (d) Ver. 6. (e) Chap. xxiv. ver. 10, 11.

Thus

Thus their Prieſts or Prophets were promoted to very great Honours, if they could ſerve political Views and Deſigns; but if they really *would not go beyond the Commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of their own Mind; but what the Lord ſaid, that they would ſpeak (f)*; then they were neglected, and *Anti-prophets, Magicians, Chaldeans*, or other *Artificers* were oppoſed to them, to take off all Impreſſions they might make upon the People, contrary to the public Views and Intereſt: Thus the *Magicians* of *Egypt* were employed againſt *Moſes*, when *Pharaoh* was not willing to part with ſo great a number of Slaves as the *Iſraelites*. And by theſe means, Religion and the Offices of it were much perverted, before the time that God thought fit to make a change in the Prieſthood, and to have a particular Order of Men ſet apart for the ſervice of the Altar *(g)*. In the later Ages, the Heathen Nations copied after this Pattern, and Temples were built, and Orders of Prieſts appointed for the Service in them in every Country; and the annual Revenues ſettled, together with the numerous preſents of Votaries, raiſed immenſe Wealth to the Religious Orders; but I do not apprehend, that the Affairs of Kingdoms

(f) Numb. xxiv. 13. (g) Exodus xxviii. Numbers iii.

were

were made ſubject to their Arbitrament and Diſpoſal, or that Kings and States-men in the later Times of the Heathen Superſtitions paid more Deference or Regard to them, than what they thought was requiſite for the Public Good.

It has indeed been thought in all Ages, to be both the Duty and Intereſt of Magiſtrates to eſtabliſh the Worſhip of a Deity amongſt their People. And it is certainly their Duty to do it as Men, who are bound to promote the Glory of God; and there is more Sound of Words than Force of Argument in the Pretence of ſome Writers, That the Magiſtrate, *as Magiſtrate*, has nothing to do in this matter; for if it be undeniably certain, that every Man is obliged to promote the Glory of God; it will follow, that the Magiſtrate is not exempted; but moves in a Station of greater Influence, and has therefore Ability to perform this, which is a Duty univerſally incumbent upon all Men, in a more effectual manner. If theſe Writers would gain their Point, they muſt prove, that the being a Magiſtrate cancels that Duty, which the Magiſtrate, *as a Man*, owes to God, and which is part of his reaſonable Service of the Deity; and which he is indiſpenſably obliged to perform in the beſt manner he can, only taking a due Care, that a Zeal for his Duty does not lead him into unjuſt or wicked Meaſures about it: But it is the Intereſt

Intereſt of the Magiſtrate to eſtabliſh Religion; for it is the ſureſt way to obtain the Protection of God's Providence (*h*), without which no wiſe and prudent Writer ever reputed the public Affairs of Kingdoms to be in a ſafe and flouriſhing Condition: And it is the only, or by far the beſt way to cultivate thoſe moral Principles of Duty amongſt a People, without which no Community can be either happy or ſecure (*i*): Thus *Tully* thought upon this Subject, concluding the Happineſs of a Community to be founded upon Religion, and very judiciouſly querying whether [*Pietate adverſus Deos ſublatâ*] if a general neglect of Religion were introduced, a

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(*h*) 1 Sam. ii. 30. Ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄγαμαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι τοῖς καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις δικαίας ὑπολαβοῦσιν, ἃς φυλάττουσι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ πολιτικοὶ, κατασκάζουσι δ' ὀλίγοι· πρώτιστα μὲν ἁπάντων τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν, ἧς παρούσης ἅπαντα τοῖς Ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω συμφέρει. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. l. 2. c. 18. —— Diis Deabuſque immortalibus, quorum ope & auxilio, multo magis hæc Reſpublica, quàm ratione hominum & conſilio gubernatur. Cicero Orat. pro C. Rabirio. Etenim quis eſt tam vecors, qui —— cum Deos eſſe intellexerit, non intelligat eorum Numine hoc tantum Imperium eſſe natum & auctum, & retentum? Quàm volumus licet, P. C. ipſi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec Artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipſo hujus Gentis ac Terræ domeſtico nativoque ſenſu Italos ipſos ac Latinos, ſed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac unâ Sapientiâ, quòd Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes Gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. Cicero Orat. de Haruſpicum Reſponſis.

(*i*) Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1. c. 2. & in al. loc. innum.

Looſeneſs of Principle deſtructive of all Society would not quickly follow, an Evil which if the Magiſtrate does not prevent, he can do nothing very effectual to the public Welfare. This all the Heathen Magiſtrates have ever been apprized of; and therefore never were ſo wild as to attempt to diſcharge themſelves of the Care of it: Their only Fault was, that their Care of it was too political: When they themſelves were the Miniſters of Religion, they ſet up their Fancies inſtead of Religion, as their Speculations led them, or their Intereſts directed; and afterwards, when they appointed other Perſons to the Miniſtrations, they ſo managed as to have them at their Direction for the ſame Purpoſes; as will appear to any one, that will fairly examine this Subject.

There ſhould be ſomething ſaid, before I cloſe this Book, about the Right which female Heirs may be ſuppoſed to have been thought by theſe Ancients to have to Crowns and Kingdoms. *Semiramis* was the firſt Queen that we read of in any Nation, and *Juſtin* ſuppoſes her to have obtained the Crown by a Deceit upon her People, by her being miſtaken for her Son *Ninyas* (*k*); but *Diodorus* gives a much better and more probable Account of her

(*k*) Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 2.

Ad-

Advancement: He ſays, that *Ninus* appointed her to be Queen at his Death *(l)*. It is indeed true, that the original Conſtitutions of ſome Kingdoms, if they were founded upon the *Maxims*, which I have ſuppoſed, do not ſeem to admit of any Female Governours: Thus in *Egypt* they did not think of having Queens, at the forming their firſt Settlement; and for that Reaſon in order to make a Way for them, there was a Law made when *Binothris* was King of *This (m)*, *i. e.* about *A. M.* 2232, that they ſhould not be excluded. In Nations, where Civil Government began from Deſpotic Authority, Queens may be ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded naturally upon Defect of Male Heirs; and they have been commonly excluded in elective Kingdoms. Two Things are remarkable: 1. That in the ancient Times whenever Queens reigned, they preſided in Religion, and were Prieſteſſes to their People, as Kings were Prieſts; and thus *Dido* in *Virgil* (*n*) made the Libation at the Entertainment of *Æneas* and his Companions, as the Kings of *Greece* in *Homer* did upon like Occaſions. 2. The Divine Providence has generally diſtinguiſhed the Reigns of Queens, with uncommon Glory to themſelves, and

(*l*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. (*m*) Syncellus, p. 54.
(*n*) Æneid. 1. ver. 740.

Happineſs to their People, of which both our own, and the Hiſtory of other Nations afford almoſt as many Inſtances, as there have been Queens upon their Thrones.

The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

BOOK VII.

ISAAC, after *Abraham* was buried, continued to live where his Father left him: *Rebekah* for ſome Years had no Children: About twenty Years after her Marriage with *Iſaac*, *A.M.* 2168, ſhe had two Sons, *Eſau* and *Jacob* (*a*). The two Children grew up to Men; were of a very different Genius and Temper; *Jacob* was very ſtudious and much verſed in religious Contemplations; *Eſau* had but little

(*a*) Gen. xxv. 24. Iſaac *was forty Years old when he married, and he was ſixty when* Jacob *and* Eſau *were born.* ver. 26.

Thought or Care about them. *Jacob*, upon ſeeing *Eſau* in ſome Abſence of his Father officiate at the Sacrifice, was very deſirous to obtain himſelf an Employment, which he thought ſo honorable; *Eſau* on the other hand had no value at all for it; and ſo they bargained together, and for a ſmall Refreſhment *Eſau* ſold *Jacob* all his Right and Title to it (*b*). *Eſau* is for this Action called the *prophane Eſau* (*c*), becauſe he deſpiſed his *Birth-right*, by parting with it for a trifling Conſideration. Some Writers imagine, that the Birth-right, which *Eſau* here ſold, was his Right to be the Heir of his Father's Subſtance: If this were true, and he ſold that only, he might indeed be called a fooliſh and inconſiderate Perſon to make ſo unwiſe a Bargain; but why Prophane? It is evident, that this could not be the Fact; for when *Iſaac* died, and *Eſau* came from Mount *Seir*, where he lived (*d*), to join with *Jacob* in aſſiſting at his Father's Funeral; at his going away from his Brother, he carried with him not only his Wives and his Sons and his Daughters and his Cattle, and all his Beaſts; but beſides all theſe, all *his Subſtance which he had got in the Land of Canaan* (*e*): *Eſau* had no Subſtance in the Land of *Canaan* of his own getting; for

(*b*) Gen. xxv. 33. (*c*) Heb. xii. 16. (*d*) Gen. xxxii. 3.
(*e*) Gen. xxxvi. 6.

he

he lived at *Seir* in the Land of *Edom*, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*; the Subſtance therefore which was gotten in the Land of *Canaan*, muſt be the Subſtance which *Iſaac* died poſſeſſed of, and which as Heir *Eſau* took along with him; ſo that after his Birth-right was ſold, he was ſtill Heir to his Father's Subſtance, and as Heir had it delivered to him, and therefore his Right to this was not what *Jacob* had bought of him. Others think, that the Birth-right was the Bleſſing promiſed to the Seed of *Abraham*; and the Words of the Writer of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeem very much to favour this Opinion: *(f) Leſt there be any Fornicator or prophane Perſon as Eſau, who for one morſel of Meat ſold his Birth-right; for ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the Bleſſing, he was rejected; for he found no Place of Repentance, though he ſought it carefully with Tears.* In theſe Words, the not inheriting *the Bleſſing* ſeems to be connected with his having ſold his Birth-right, as if having parted with the one, he could not poſſibly obtain the other; but I am in great Doubt, whether this be the true Meaning of theſe Words. *Eſau* himſelf, when he had ſold his Birth-right, did not imagine that he had ſold his Right to the Bleſſing along

(f) Hebrews xii. 16, 17.

with it; for when his Father told him, that his Brother had come with Subtilty, and taken away his Bleſſing (*g*), *Eſau* anſwered, *Is he not rightly named Jacob: for he hath ſupplanted me theſe two times; he took away my Birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my Bleſſing:* If *Eſau* had apprehended the Bleſſing and the Birth-right to have been inſeparable, having ſold the one, he would not have expected or pretended to the other; but he makes the getting from him the Bleſſing a ſecond Hardſhip put upon him, diſtinct from, and independent of the former. St. *Paul*, I think, repreſents the Caſe of *Eſau* in his loſs of the Bleſſing in the ſame manner (*h*); he does not ſuppoſe it owing to any thing that *Eſau* had done (*i*), but repreſents it as a deſign of God, determined before *Jacob* and *Eſau* were born (*k*); and a Deſign determined purely by the Good-will and Pleaſure of God, without any View to, or Regard of any thing, that *Jacob* or *Eſau* ſhould do (*l*). God made the Promiſe at firſt to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*, and afterwards determined, that *Abraham's* Seed ſhould be called in *Iſaac*, not in *Iſhmael*; and in the next Generation in *Jacob*, not in *Eſau*; and afterwards he divided the Bleſſing amongſt the Sons of *Ja-*

(*g*) Gen. xxvii. 35, 36. (*h*) Rom. ix. (*i*) Ver. 11.
(*k*) Ibid. (*l*) Ibid.

cob. The *Meſſiah* was to be born of *Judah*, and each of them in their Poſterity had a Share of the Land of *Canaan*. The Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſets this Matter in the cleareſt Light, by diſtinguiſhing the Bleſſing into two Parts; one he calls the *Bleſſing of all Men*, alluding to the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, *that in his Seed all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*; the other he calls *the Covenant*, intimating hereby the Covenant made with him about the Land of *Canaan*; and both theſe Parts of the Bleſſing were given to *Iſaac*, for *Abraham*'s ſake: *With Iſaac did he eſtabliſh likewiſe, for Abraham his Father's ſake, the Bleſſing of all Men, and the Covenant (m), and he made it reſt upon the Head of Jacob.* He gave the whole Bleſſing intire to *Jacob* alſo, but afterwards *amongſt the twelve Tribes did he part them* (n). When the Bleſſing came to deſcend to *Jacob*'s Children, it did not go intire according to Birth-right, nor to any one Perſon, who had deſerved it better than all the reſt; but as God at firſt made the Promiſe and

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(m) Eccleſiaſticus xliv. 22, 23. (n) *The Words are,* διέσειλε μερίδας αὐτῶ, ἐν φυλαις ἐμέρισεν δεκαδύο. i.e. *He ſeparated the Parts of it* [i. e. *of the Bleſſing*], *He parted them amongſt the twelve Tribes.* Abraham *is repreſented in* Gen. xii. *to have received only a Promiſe* of the Bleſſing of all Men, *but God is ſaid to make a Covenant with him to give him* Canaan, Gen. xv. 18.

Covenant

Covenant to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*, and gave the Title to it afterwards to *Iſaac*, not to *Iſhmael*, then to *Jacob* not to *Eſau*; ſo in the next Generation, He conveyed it intire to no one ſingle Perſon, but divided it, and gave *the Bleſſing of all Men* to *Judah*, who was *Jacob*'s fourth Son, and parted the Covenant about *Canaan* amongſt all of them, giving to *Joſeph* in his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* two Parts of it.

There is a Paſſage in the Book of *Chronicles*, which may ſeem to contradict the Account I am endeavouring to give of *Jacob*'s or *Eſau*'s Birth-right. *The Sons of Reuben the firſt-born of Iſrael*; *for he was* (ſays the Hiſtorian) *the firſt-born, but foraſmuch as he defiled his Father's Bed, his Birth-right was given unto the Sons of Joſeph, and the Genealogy is not to be reckoned after the Birth-right*; *for Judah prevailed above his Brethren, and of him came the chief Ruler, but the Birth-right was Joſeph's* (*o*). In this Paſſage the inſpired Writer may be thought to hint, that there was a Birth-right to be obſerved in the Diviſion of *Canaan*; and that when God ordered the Bleſſing to be parted, he had a Reſpect to ſuch Birth-right in the Diviſion of it; tho' he did not think fit to give it to a Perſon, who by his Demerits had

(*o*) 1 Chron. v. 1, 2.

forfeited

feited it; and it may be asked, if *Jacob*'s ildren had a Birth-right in this Matter, y ſhould we ſuppoſe that *Iſaac*'s had ? To this I anſwer: The Paſſage I have ntioned does not in the leaſt refer to Birth-right, which was eſteemed to be h in the Days of *Jacob* and *Eſau*. For, If the Inheritance of the Father's Eſtate s at that time Part of the Birth-right, it is evident, that it was not ſo in the portion here mentioned: For not a uble Portion only did peculiarly belong the eldeſt Son in theſe Times, but the ole. *Thus* Abraham *gave all that he unto* Iſaac, but unto the Children, ich he had by *Keturah*, his ſecond Wife, *gave Gifts and ſent them away Eaſt-rd, while he yet lived, from* Iſaac *his* . If therefore the Inheritance of *Ca-an* had been given according to the th-right in theſe Days, one of *Jacob*'s ns ſhould have had the whole, and all reſt have been ſent to live in ſome o-r Country. 2. The Right of the firſt-rn was ſettled upon another Foot by the w of *Moſes*: The Prieſt-hood was ſe-rated from it, and ſettled upon the Tribe *Levi*, and a double Portion of the Fa-r's Eſtate and Subſtance declared to long to *(p)* the firſt-born. 3. *Eſau*, hen he ſold his Birth-right, did not ſell Right of inheriting his Father's Sub-

(p) Exod. xxviii. Numb. iii. 6—12. Deut. xxi. 17.

ſtance,

ſtance, for he had that Inheritance at his Father's Death. 4. *Jacob* had propheſied (*q*) that *Joſeph* ſhould have one Portion of the Land of *Canaan* above his Brethren, but does not any where hint any one of his Sons to have a Birth-right to any one Part of it more than the reſt; nor can we ſay but that as the whole Bleſſing was made to reſt upon the Head of *Jacob*, without *Eſau*'s having any Part of it, ſo it might likewiſe have deſcended to any one of *Jacob*'s Sons, and it could have deſcended to but one of them, if it had been a Birth-right, and had not by the Good-will and Pleaſure of God been deſigned to be parted amongſt the twelve Tribes, to every one ſuch a Portion of it, as God was pleaſed to appoint, and that Part of it which contained *the Bleſſing of all Men* to *Judah* only. For theſe Reaſons I conclude, 5. That the Author of the Book of *Chronicles*, writing after that the Law of *Moſes* had altered the Prieſthood, and appointed two Portions of the Inheritance to the eldeſt Son, remarks *Joſeph* to have had the Birth-right given to him, meaning to refer to what was then called the Birth-right, but not to what was the Birth-right in *Jacob* and *Eſau*'s Days, which was long *prior* to and very different from this Eſtabliſhment.

(*q*) Gen. xlviii. 22.

The *Jews*, at the time that the Apoſtles reached the Goſpel, ſeem to have been of opinion, that the whole Body of their Nation had a Birth-right and unalienable Title to the Bleſſings of the *Meſſiah:* This was *the hope of the Promiſe made of God unto* their *Fathers, unto which Promiſe* their *twelve Tribes inſtantly ſerving God Day and Night* hoped *to come (r)*. After the Bleſſing, which had been made to reſt upon the Head of *Jacob*, had been parted amongſt the twelve Tribes, they apprehended that this was to be the laſt Diſtribution of it, and that the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, or twelve Tribes jointly as a People, were to enjoy the Bleſſing for ever; but St. *Paul* endeavours in ſeveral Places to correct this Miſtake, and argues very clearly, that the Bleſſing was never appointed to deſcend according to Birth-right or Inheritance; for that, not the *Children of the Fleſh, but the Children of the Promiſe are* to be *counted for the Seed* of *Abraham*, who have a Title to it, *i. e.* not thoſe, who by natural Deſcent may ſeem to have a Right, but thoſe to whom God by ſpecial Deſign and Promiſe had directed it *(s)*. And this he proves by Inſtance from *Jacob* and *Eſau*, that, when *Rebekah* had conceived them, *before the Children were born, or had done good or*

(r) Acts xxvi. 7. (s) Rom. ix. 8.

evil,

evil, that it might not be ſaid to be owing to any thing they had done, but to be the mere Determination of God's Good-will and Pleaſure, it was ſaid unto her, *That the elder* ſhould *ſerve the younger* (*t*). Thus *Eſau* was the Son, who by Deſcent might ſeem to have the Right, but *Jacob* had it by Promiſe. In the ſame manner, when *Chriſt* the promiſed Seed of *Abraham* was come, the twelve Tribes thought themſelves to be Heirs of the Bleſſings to be received from him; but in this they erred, not rightly underſtanding the Promiſe. He was to be the *Bleſſing of all Men*, or according to the Words of the Promiſe, in him *all the Families of the Earth* (*u*), or *all the Nations of the Earth* were to be *bleſſed* (*w*). And in order to this, God had determined *to call them his People which were not his People, and her beloved which was not beloved* (*x*), and to receive the *Gentiles* into the Bleſſings of the Promiſe. Nor could the *Jews* juſtly ſay, becauſe the greateſt Part of their Nation was rejected, that therefore the Promiſe to *Abraham* was broken, or had *taken none Effect: For they are not all Iſrael which are of Iſrael, neither becauſe they are the Seed of Abraham are they all Children* (*y*); but as *Eſau*

(*t*) Rom. ix. 12. (*u*) Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. (*w*) Gen. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. (*x*) Rom. ix. 25. (*y*) Ver. 6, 7.

received

eceived not the Bleſſing, tho' he was the on of *Iſaac*, ſo the *Jews* who fell ſhort hro' Unbelief were rejected, and yet the romiſe was made good to the Sons of *braham*, becauſe a Remnant was re-eived (*z*), and ſome of them with the *entiles* made Partakers of it. God having ot promiſed that all *Abraham*'s Sons ould be his Children, but only ſuch of em as he ſhould think fit to chuſe. I ink if the whole of what I have offered e duly conſidered, it will appear that the leſſing never was annexed to the Birth-ght at all, nor did it ever deſcend as the irth-right did; but was always diſpoſed , either in the Whole or in Part, juſt as pleaſed God to think fit to diſpoſe of it his own Good-will and Pleaſure. *Eſau* being eldeſt Son had the Birth-right, t he never had any Title to *the Bleſ-g*; for before he was born, God was eaſed to declare that it ſhould belong to *acob (a)*; and therefore *Eſau* in ſelling s Birth-right, does not ſeem to have part-d with any Right to the Bleſſing, for they ere two different and diſtinct things. *ſau*'s Birth-right therefore muſt be his ight of being Prieſt or Sacrificer for his rethren; and he is juſtly termed *Pro-bane* for ſelling it, becauſe he hereby

(*z*) Ver. 27. (*a*) Gen. xxv. 23. Rom. ix. 11, 12.

ſhew'd

ſhew'd himſelf not to have a due Valu and Eſteem for a religious Employmen which belonged to him.

There was a Famine about this Time i the Land of *Canaan*, where *Iſaac* ſojourn ed, and he removed on Account of it, a his Father had done, and went into th Land of the *Philiſtines*, and lived at Ge *rar (b)*. Here he denied his Wife, pre tending her to be his Siſter, as *Abraha* did formerly; but the King of the Coun try accidentally ſeeing ſome Familiaritie paſs between them, ſharply reproved him apprized his Subjects that ſhe was his Wif and declared that he would puniſh an Man with Death, that ſhould offer Vio lence to either of them. *Iſaac* continue for ſome Years in the Land of the *Phi liſtines*, ſowing ſome Fields, and reapin prodigious Crops from his Tillage. H was very proſperous in all his Undert kings, and increaſed his Stock and gre very great, until the *Philiſtines* envie him, and endeavoured to quarrel wit him, and applied to the King to have hi baniſhed their Land. *Abimelech* hereupo ordered *Iſaac* to go from them; *for*, ſai he, *thou art much mightier than we (c)* *Abimelech* could not mean by theſe Word that *Iſaac* was really more potent than th whole *Philiſtian* People; for we cann

(*b*) Gen. xxvi. (*c*) Ibid. Ver. 16.

imagin

magine that poſſible: He might have as arge a Family, and as numerous an Attendance as the King of *Philiſtia* himſelf had, nd might therefore, if he had a mind, ave been able to diſturb his Government. But the Words of *Abimelech* above-mentioned do not ſuggeſt even this to us; for our *Engliſh* Tranſlation of this Paſſage is very faulty, the *Hebrew* Words are [*cignat-zampta mimmennu*] not *becauſe thou art mightier than we*, but *becauſe thou art increaſed or multiplied from or by us*, thou haſt got a great deal from us, or by us, and we do not care to let thee get any more. The Caſe was, not that the *Philiſtines* feared him, but they *envied* him (*d*); they grudged that he ſhould get ſo much amongſt them, and were therefore deſirous to check him. *Abimelech* ordered *Iſaac* to leave *Gerar*, upon which he departed, and pitched his Tent in the Valley of *Gerar*, and dwelt there (*e*). After *Iſaac* was removed from *Gerar*, the *Philiſtines* thought him too well accommodated whilſt he lived in the Valley, and their Envy and Malice ſtill purſued him. The Herdſmen of *Gerar* quarrelled with *Iſaac*'s Herdſmen, took away their Wells, and put them to many Inconveniencies; ſo that *Iſaac*, quite tired with their repeated Inſults, removed farther from them, and

(*d*) Gen. xxvi. 14. (*e*) Ver. 17.

went and lived in the moſt remote Part of their Country towards *Egypt*, at *Beerſheba (f)*: Here he hoped to find a Place of Peace and Quiet. He built an Altar, and implored the Divine Favour and Protection, and had the Comfort to be aſſured, that he and his ſhould be defended from all future Evils: And ſoon after he was ſettled here, *Abimelech*, ſenſible of the ill Uſage he had met with from his People, and reflecting upon the extraordinary manner in which God had bleſſed him, and conſidering that perhaps in time he might revenge the Injuries they had done him, came with his Officers, and made an Alliance with him *(g)*. *Eſau* was about forty Years old, and had married two *Hittite* Women, very much to the Affliction of his Parents *(h)*. The *Hittites* bordered upon the *Philiſtines* near to *Gerar*, ſo that *Eſau* moſt probably married whilſt his Father ſojourned there. *Eſau* was forty Years old, *A. M.* 2208, and therefore about that time *Iſaac* lived at *Gerar*.

About nineteen Years after this died *Syphis* the firſt of that Name, a very famous King of *Egypt*. He was the tenth King of *Memphis*, after *Menes* or *Mizraim*, according to Sir *John Marſham's*

(*f*) Gen. xxvi. 23.
(*g*) Ver. 26 — 30.
(*h*) Ver. 34, 35.

Tables

Tables, who ſuppoſes him to begin his Reign about twenty-two Years after the Death of *Mizraim*, who died, according to what I have formerly offered, *A. M.* 1943 *(i)*, and therefore *Syphis* began his Reign *A. M.* 2164. *Syphis*, according to Sir *John Marſham* from *Manetho*, reign'd ſixty-three Years, and therefore died *A. M.* 2227, and upon this Computation I have ſuppoſed *Syphis* to begin his Reign about eighty Years after *Abraham*'s coming into *Egypt*, and to dye above forty Years after *Abraham (k)*; for *Abraham* came into *Egypt A. M.* 2085 or 2086 *(l)*, and died *A. M.* 2183 *(m)*. *Syphis* was the firſt of the *Egyptians*, who ſpeculated upon religious Subjects *(n)*. According to *Damaſcenus* in *Euſebius*, *Abraham* and the *Egyptian* Prieſts had many Diſputes and Conferences about Religion *(o)*. It may be asked, what Diſputes could they have upon this Subject, if the *Egyptians* were not at this Time become Idolaters, as I apprehend they were not *(p)*? To this I anſwer: The Religion of *Abraham*, as it differed from that of *Noah* and his Deſcendants in ſome Points, which depended upon ſpecial Revelations made to *Abraham*, muſt lay a Foundation for his having

(i) Vol. I. B. 4. (k) Vol. I. B. 5. (l) Vol. I. B. 5. p. 275. (m) See Book 6. (n) Marſham Can. Chron. (o) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18. (p) See Vol. I. B. 5.

Conferences and Diſputes with the Profeſſors of Religion in all Countries into which he travelled. They knew nothing of the Promiſe made to him, *that in his Seed all the Nations of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed*, nor were they apprized, that they ought to worſhip him whom *Abraham* worſhipped, namely, *the Lord*, who *appeared to him (q)*; and agreeably hereto we find an *Expreſſion* in the Accounts we have of the Worſhip of *Abraham* and his Deſcendants, which we do not meet with any where in the Worſhip of *Lot*, of *Job*, or of any other Perſon, who had not received thoſe Revelations, which had been made to *Abraham*, and to his Children. *Abraham* [*Jikra be Shem Jehovah*] not *called upon the Name of the Lord*, as we falſely tranſlate the Place (*r*) but *invoked i. e.* God, *in the Name of the Lord*, whom he worſhipped, and who *appeared to him*. And this Perſon I take to be the God, whom *Jacob* prayed to (*s*), and whom he reſolved to worſhip when he vowed that *the Lord ſhould be his God*; by which Expreſſion may be meant, not that *the true God* ſhould be his God in oppoſition to *falſe* Gods, for that had been no very remarkable Reſolution; no wiſe Man ever worſhipping

(*q*) Gen. xii. 7. (*r*) Ver. 8. *As rendred in our* Engliſh *Verſion.* (*s*) Gen. xxviii. 21.

falſe

falſe Gods, that really knows them to be ſuch; but the *Lord, who appeared to Abraham*, was to be his God, in Diſtinction from thoſe who worſhipped *the true God of Heaven*, without any Notion of *this Lord* at all. In the ſame manner we find, that this Perſon was worſhipped by *Iſaac*, and he is ſometimes called *the Fear of Iſaac*, and ſometimes *the God of Abraham*, and *God of Iſaac*; *(t)* and *Iſaac invoked* God as *Abraham* did, *in the Name of* this *Lord (u)*. The ſeveral Expreſſions denoting the Worſhip which different Perſons paid the Deity, are very remarkable in the old Teſtament. Many Perſons are ſaid *Kara Jehovah* to invoke God, or *Kara el Jehovah, to cry unto God*; or their Worſhip is deſcribed in Expreſſions of much the ſame Import; but *(w) Kara be-ſhem Jehovah* is never uſed in a religious Senſe, but of *Abraham* and his Deſcendants, who invoked in the Name of the true Mediator. This was the Difference between their Religion, and that of the reſt of Mankind. Other Nations, before Idolatry was introduced, worſhipped the true God, but not *be Shem Je-*

(t) Gen. xxxi. 42, 53. & in al. loc. (u) Gen. xxvi. 25.

(w) *The Expreſſion* Kara be Shem *is uſed* Gen. iv. *but from the Perſons there ſpoken of being called by the Name of the Sons of God*, Gen. vi. *I imagine the Words in that Place to ſignify* to call by the Name. See Vol. I. B. 1.

hovah, in *the Name of the Lord, who had appeared to Abraham.* And this I take to be the Point, which *Abraham* diſputed with the *Egyptian* Prieſts, whether God was to be worſhipped, as they worſhipped him, or whether he was to be invoked in the Name of *Abraham*'s God and Lord. *Damaſcenus* remarks (*x*) that the *Egyptians* admired *Abraham* as a very great Genius, able to convince and perſuade Men into his Opinions; and we find from Scripture, that the Eminence both of *Abraham* and his Deſcendants made great Impreſſions upon all Nations they converſed with. The King of *Salem* acknowledged *Abraham* to be an eminent Servant of the moſt high God (*y*); *Abimelech* was convinced, that God was with him in all he did (*z*). And the ſame Confeſſion was made of *Iſaac* in the ſame Country (*a*); and *Abraham*'s Converſation raiſed him a great Character and Reputation in *Egypt*. For after he was gone from thence, the *Egyptians* copied after him in the Point of Circumciſion, and introduced human Sacrifices, and imitated many Rites which they heard that he practiſed in his Religion; but it does not appear, that he intirely perſuaded them to acknowledge his God to be their God. *Sy-*

(*x*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18. (*y*) Gen. xiv. 19.
(*z*) Gen. xxi. 22. (*a*) Gen. xxvi. 28.

phis,

phis, a King of the next adjacent Country to that in which *Abraham* had ſojourned, in a little time turned their Thoughts quite another way: He took up the Subjects, which *Abraham* had been famous for, and wrote a Book about Religion, which carried away his own People and the neighbouring Nations into Idolatry *(b)*. And probably he did not oppoſe the Doctrine of *Abraham*, that God was to be invoked in the Name of a *Mediator*, but he ſet up *falſe Mediators* inſtead of the true one. For I conclude from the manner of the worſhipping *Baal* in *Elijah*'s time *(c)*, that Men did not at firſt wander away from the true God, but they ſet up *Lords many*, or falſe *Mediators*, in whoſe Names they worſhipped, and in time they went further, and loſt all Notion of the true God. *Syphis*, inſtead of teaching to invoke God in the Name of *the Lord, who appeared to Abraham*, ſet up the Worſhip of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and taught the *Egyptians* to invoke in their Names; ſo that they had not *one God*, and *one Lord*, which was the ancient true Religion, but *one God*, and *Lords many*, and in time they had *Gods many* too. *Baal* was a falſe *Lord* of this ſort, and the Worſhippers of *Baal* in-

(*b*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 54. (*c*) 1 Kings xviii.

voked in his Name. *Elijah called* upon *the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and of Iſrael* (*d*), invoking God in or by his Name (*e*). The Worſhippers of *Baal*, in oppoſition to him, invoked in the Name of *Baal*, [*Jikreau be Shem ha Baal*] they called or *invoked*, not *upon the Name*, for the Words are not to be ſo tranſlated, but *by*, or *in the Name of Baal* If *Syphis* was the Builder of the largeſt *Egyptian* Pyramid, which, according to the beſt Accounts we have of it, is ſo large at the Bottom as to cover above eleven Acres of Ground, and five hundred Feet high, and *Manetho* expreſsly ſays (*f*) that he built it; he muſt have been a Prince of great Figure in the Age he lived in; and no wonder if his own and the neighbour Nations embraced his Religious Inſtitutions.

About the Times of this *Syphis*, or rather ſomething later, lived *Job* the *Arabian:* The LXX in their Tranſlation ſay that he lived in all 240 or 248 Years (*g*): If he did really live ſo long, we ought to ſuppoſe him earlier than *Syphis*; nay, much earlier than *Abraham*, for the Lives of Mankind were ſo much ſhortned ere the Days of *Abraham*, that tho' *He* lived but

(*d*) 1 Kings xviii. 36. (*e*) Ver. 24, & 32. (*f*) Euſeb. Chron.
(*g*) See cap. ult. Lib. Job. Verſ. LXX. Ver. 16.

175 Years (*h*), yet he is ſaid to have *died in a good old Age, an old Man and full of Years* (*i*). *Peleg*, who was five Generations before *Abraham*, lived 239 Years (*k*). *Reu* the Son of *Peleg* lived as many (*l*). *Serug* the Son of *Reu* lived 230 (*m*); but the Lives of their Deſcendants were not ſo long: *Nahor* the Grandfather of *Abraham* lived but 148 Years (*n*). *Terah*, *Abraham*'s Father, lived 205 (*o*). *Abraham* lived 175, *Iſaac* lived 180 (*p*), and the Lives of their Children were ſhorter: If therefore *Job* lived 240 or 248 Years, he muſt have been cotemporary with *Peleg*, *Reu* or *Serug*; for Men's Lives were not extended to ſo great a Length after *their* Days. The LXX have ſome remarkable Additions to the Book of *Job*, which are not found in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac* or *Arabic* Copies, and this Account of the Length of *Job*'s Life is one of them; but this is in no wiſe reconcileable with what follows, and is ſaid to have been tranſlated from the *Syriac* Verſion, namely that *Job*'s original Name was *Jobab*, that his Father's Name was *Zare* of the Children of *Eſau*; that he was the fifth in Deſcent from *Abraham*; that he was the ſecond King of *Edom*, next after *Bela* the Son of

(*h*) Gen. xxv. 7. (*i*) Ver. 8. (*k*) Gen. xi. 18, 19.
(*l*) Ver. 20, 21. (*m*) Ver. 22, 23. (*n*) Ver. 24, 25.
(*o*) Ver. 32. (*p*) Chap. xxxv. 28.

Beor:

Beor: This Account will place *Job* even later than *Moſes*; for *Bela* the firſt King of *Edom* was *Moſes*'s cotemporary, and if we place him thus late, he could not live 240 Years: Men lived in *Moſes*'s Time about 130: But this Account is not conſiſtent with itſelf; for if *Job* was the fifth in Deſcent from *Abraham*, he muſt be prior to *Moſes*, *Moſes* being ſeven Deſcents later than *Abraham (q)*: Theſe Additions which we now find in the laſt Chapter of the LXX Verſion of the Book of *Job*, will therefore ſo ill bear a ſtrict Examination, that I cannot think the *Tranſlators* themſelves did at firſt put them there; but rather that they were the Work of ſome later Hand, added by ſome Tranſcriber, who thought *Jobab* (mentioned *Gen.* xxxvi. 33.) and *Job* to be the ſame Perſon. There are ſome Circumſtances in the Hiſtory of *Job*, which may lead us to gueſs pretty well at the Times he lived in. 1. He lived above 180 Years, for he lived 140 Years after his Afflictions *(r)*, and he muſt be more than 40 at the Beginning of them; for he had ſeven Sons and three Daughters, and all his Children ſeem to have been grown up before the Beginning of his Misfortunes *(ſ)*; He

(*q*) Moſes *was in the third Generation from* Levi, 1 Chron. vi. 1, 2, 3. Levi *was Son of* Jacob, *Son of* Iſaac, *Son of* Abraham.
(*r*) Job xlii. 16. (*ſ*) Chap. i. 2---4.

could

could not therefore but live to be near 200 Years old. 2. The Idolatry practiſed in the Countries he lived in, in his Days, was the Worſhip of the Hoſt of Heaven (*t*). 3. The Preſents uſual in *Job*'s Days were Ear-rings of Gold, and Pieces of Money called *Keſhitah* (*u*): Now from theſe Circumſtances it ſeems moſt probable, 1. That he could not be much later than the Times of *Iſaac*, for if he had, his Life would not have been ſo long as it appears to have been. 2. He muſt have been ſomething younger than *Syphis*, for *Syphis* firſt (*w*) inſtituted the Worſhip of the Hoſt of Heaven in *Egypt*, which Idolatry ſpread thence into, and began to flouriſh in *Arabia* in *Job*'s Time. 3. Ear-rings of Gold were made in *Abraham*'s Days (*x*), and they were part of the Women's Dreſs in the Days of *Jacob* (*y*); but the Piece of Money called *Keſhitah* ſeems not to have been in Uſe until after *Abraham*: When *Abraham* bought the Field of *Ephron*, he paid the Price in Silver, not by Number of Pieces but by Weight (*z*); but when *Jacob* bought a Parcel of a Field of the Children of *Hamor*, he paid for it not by Weight, but he gave an hundred *Keſhitahs* (*a*), or Pieces of Money for it; ſo that the *Keſhi-*

(*t*) Job xxxi. 26, 27. (*u*) Chap. xlii. 11. (*w*) See Vol. I. Book V. (*x*) Gen. xxiv. 22. (*y*) Chap. xxxv. 4. (*z*) Chap. xxiii. 16. (*a*) Chap. xxxiii. 19.

tah

tah or Piece of Money which *Job*'s Friends gave him, was not in Uſe in *Abraham*'s Time, but was in Uſe in *Jacob*'s, and therefore *Job* was not ſo ancient as *Abraham*, tho' the Length of his Life will not permit us to ſuppoſe him altogether ſo young as *Jacob*. *Job*'s Friends who viſited him were *Eliphaz ha-Temani*, perhaps the Son of *Tema*, now *Tema* was the Son of *Iſhmael* (*b*); and *Bildad ha-ſhuachi*, *i. e.* the Son of *Shuach*, now *Shuach* was Son of *Abraham* by *Keturah* (*c*); and *Zophar ha-naamathi*; and *Elihu* the Son of *Barachel ha Buzi* converſed with them (*d*), now *Buz* was the Son of *Nahor Abraham*'s Brother (*e*); *Barachel* might be his Son or Grandſon, and *Elihu* his Son be cotemporary with *Iſaac*, for *Nahor* being born when his Father *Terah* was little more than 70, muſt have been above 50 Years older than *Abraham*, and agreeably hereto *Abraham*'s Son *Iſaac* married *Nahor*'s Grand-daughter *(f)*. And thus all the Perſons converſant with *Job* may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have lived about *Iſaac*'s Time, and therefore we need not upon Account of their Names place *Job* later. There are ſome learned Writers that are very poſitive that *Job* lived about the Time of *Moſes*; *Grotius* was of this Opinion; o-

(*b*) Gen. xxv. 15. (*c*) Ver. 2. (*d*) Job xxxii. 2.
(*e*) Gen. xxii. 21. (*f*) Chap. xxiv. 24.

thers

thers place him a Generation later than *Eſau*, imagining *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, who was one of his Friends, to have been *Eliphaz* the Son of *Eſau* and Father of *Teman*; but I ſhould think the Length of *Job*'s Life to be an unanſwerable Objection againſt ſuppoſing him to be thus late. *Job* lived in the Land of *Uz* (*g*): According to the Prophet *Jeremiah* this Country was adjacent to the Land of *Edom* (*h*): The *Sabeans* robbed *Job* (*i*), and the *Sabeans* lived at the Entrance of *Arabia Felix* (*k*). The *Chaldeans* alſo made three Bands, and fell upon his Camels and carried them away (*l*): The *Chaldeans* were at firſt a wandring People, Inhabitants of the Wilderneſs, until *Aſhur* built them a City (*m*), then they lived at *Ur* in *Meſopotamia*, for they expelled *Abraham* their Land (*n*); but it is moſt probable, that like the ancient *Scythians* they wandred often from their Country in Bands for the ſake of robbing, many Generations after their firſt Settlement, this being no unuſual Practice in the early Times, and three Companies of them might make an Expedition and fall upon *Job*'s Cattle, ſo that we need not ſuppoſe *Job* to live very near to *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, tho' he was robbed

(*g*) Job i. 1. (*h*) Lam. iv. 21. (*i*) Job i. 15.
(*k*) *See* Vol. I. B. 3. (*l*) Job i. 17. (*m*) Iſaiah xxiii. 13.
(*n*) Judith v. 8.

by

by theſe Men. If we ſuppoſe his Land to be adjacent to *Edom*, as *Jeremiah* hints it, he was nigh enough to both *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* to ſuffer from each of them. Some Writers have imagined, that there never was any ſuch Perſon as *Job*, and that his Hiſtory is only an Inſtructive Fable; but nothing can be more wild than this Opinion, which has no Colour of Argument to ſupport it. The Prophet *Ezekiel* ſuppoſes *Job* to have been as real a Perſon as either *Noah* or *Daniel (o)*, and St. *James* mentions him as having been a true Example of Patience *(p)*. We may at this rate raiſe Doubts of any ancient Fact and Hiſtory.

About the hundredth Year of *Iſaac*'s Life there happened a very remarkable Accident in his Family; *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* ſeem to have had a very different Opinion concerning their two Sons *Jacob* and *Eſau: Iſaac* was a very good Man; but he did not form a true Judgment of his Children: He was remarkably fond of *Eſau* more than he was of *Jacob (q)*; but his Affection was but poorly grounded, *he loved Eſau becauſe he did eat of his Veniſon, but Rebekah loved Jacob*; and it is remarkable, that before ſhe placed her Affection upon either of them, ſhe enquired

(o) Ezek. xiv. 14---16. (p) James v. 11. (q) Gen. xxv. 27, 28.

of

of God concerning them, and received for Anſwer that the Younger ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the Bleſſings of Heaven (*r*); This ſhe treaſured up in her Mind, and her Opinion of them was according to it. From the Time that God made the Covenant with *Abraham*, and promiſed the extraordinary Bleſſings to his Seed, which have been before mentioned, it was requiſite for the Father of each Family ſome time before he died to call together his Children, and to inform them according to the Knowledge which it pleaſed God to give him, how and in what manner the Bleſſing of *Abraham* was to deſcend amongſt them. *Abraham* had no Occaſion to do this; for God having determined and declared that in *Iſaac* his Seed ſhould be called (*ſ*), none of *Abraham*'s other Children could have any Pretence to expect the particular Bleſſings which God had promiſed to the Seed of *Abraham*. *Iſaac* had two Sons, and either of theſe might be deſigned by God to be the Heir of the Promiſe, *Iſaac* being now in the Decline of Life; *he was old, and his Eyes were dim that he could not ſee*, and not knowing how ſoon he might be taken from them, was willing to determine this Point, by bleſſing them before he died (*t*): If we

(*r*) Gen. xxv. 23. (*ſ*) Chap. xvii. 19, 20, 21.
(*t*) Chap. xxvii.

com-

compare this Place with that where *Jacob* afterwards called his Children together, we may obſerve a remarkable Difference between them: *Jacob* called his Sons, and ſaid, *Gather your ſelves together, that I may tell you what ſhall befal you in the laſt Days*, or rather it ſhould be tranſlated, *in the Times to come*, or *in the Days of your Poſterity* (*u*). God had given *Jacob* a Prophetic View of his intended Diſpenſations to his Deſcendants and their Children, and he called his Sons together to relate to them, what God had thus revealed to him: But *Iſaac* in the Place before us ſeems to have called *Eſau*, without having received any particular Revelation about him; nay it is evident he had received none; for he deſigned to tell him, what God never intended ſhould belong to him. *Iſaac* called *Eſau*, and not *Jacob*, becauſe he loved him more than he loved *Jacob*, and he loved him more, becauſe *Eſau* gat him Veniſon; but *Jacob*'s Courſe of Life lay another way: *Rebekah* ſaw the low Springs of her Husband's Affection to his Children, and that he was going to promiſe the Bleſſing of *Abraham*, where his Affection led him to wiſh it, and not where, by having made Inquiry, ſhe knew that God deſigned to beſtow it: Hereupon ſhe reſolved if (*w*) poſſible to prevent

(*u*) Gen. xlix. 1. (*w*) Chap. xxvii.

him,

him, and therefore ſent for *Jacob*, and propoſed to him a Scheme for his obtaining the Bleſſing which his Father deſign'd to give to *Eſau*: *Jacob* was at firſt in great Perplexity about it; was afraid his Father ſhould find out the Deceit, and inſtead of bleſſing him, be provoked to curſe him for endeavouring to impoſe upon him; but *Rebekah* was ſo well aſſured, that God deſigned to bleſs *Jacob*, and that her whole Crime in this Attempt was only an Endeavour to deceive *Iſaac* into an Action, which he ought to have duely informed himſelf of, and to have done deſignedly, that ſhe took the Curſe wholly upon herſelf, and perſuaded *Jacob* to come into her Meaſures: One thing is remarkable, that when the Artifice had ſucceeded, and *Jacob* was bleſſed, *Iſaac* let it go, nay he confirmed the Bleſſing, *Yea* (ſays he) *and he ſhall be bleſſed.* We do not find that he was either diſpleaſed with his Wife, or angry with *Jacob* for impoſing upon him; but tho' he had before appeared full of Fears and Cares leſt *Eſau* ſhould be defeated (*x*), yet now he expreſſed himſelf fully ſatisfied with what he had done. I cannot but think, that it pleaſed God at this time to open his Underſtanding, and to convince him, that he had given the Bleſſing to the right Perſon. Before this

(*x*) Gen. xxvii. 18, 21, 24.

time he ſaid nothing but what any uninſpired Perſon might have ſaid (*y*): He wiſhed his Son *of the Dew of Heaven and the Fatneſs of the Earth, and plenty of Corn and Wine*, adding ſuch other Circumſtances of Proſperity as his Affection dictated; but ſaying nothing that can intimate him to have had any particular View of any Thing that was to happen to him; but now he began to ſpeak with a better Senſe of Things, he ſtill wiſhed *Eſau* all poſſible Happineſs, *the Fatneſs of the Earth and the Dew of Heaven* (*z*); but he knew, that the particular Bleſſings promiſed to *Abraham* and his Seed, did not belong to him; he could now enter into his future Life, and tell the Circumſtances of his Poſterity, and relate to him what ſhould happen in after-Days; deſcribe how he and his Deſcendants ſhould live; acquaint him, that *his Brother's* Children ſhould indeed be their Governors; but that there ſhould come a Time, when *his* Children ſhould get the Dominion, and break his Brother's Yoke from off their Necks (*a*); a Particular accompliſhed not until almoſt nine hundred Years after this Prediction of it; for this Propheſy was fulfilled, when the Land of *Edom*, peopled by the Children of *Eſau*, who had been brought into Subjection to the Seed of

(*y*) Gen. xxvii. 27—29. (*z*) Ver. 39. (*a*) Ver. 40.

Jacob

Jacob by King *David (a)*, revolted in the Days of *Jehoram (b)*, and ſet up a King of their own, and brake the Yoke of *Jacob* off their Neck, being never after that Time any more ſubject to any of the Kings of *Judah (c)*.

Eſau was exceedingly provoked at his Brother's thus obtaining the Bleſſing from him, and determined, as ſoon as his Father ſhould be dead, to kill him *(d)*. *Rebekah* heard of his Intentions, and thought the moſt likely way to prevent the Miſchief, would be to ſend *Jacob* out of the Way. She applied herſelf therefore to *Iſaac*, mentioned to him the Misfortune of *Eſau*'s Marriages, and the Comfort they might have of *Jacob*, if he would take Care to diſpoſe of himſelf better; ſo that *Iſaac* ſent for *Jacob*, and charged him not to take a Wife of the Daughters of *Canaan*, but ordered him to go into *Meſopotamia*, and inquire for the Family of *Bethuel* his Mother's Father, and get one of *Laban*'s Daughters for a Wife, and that if he did ſo, God would certainly bleſs him *(e)*, and give him the Bleſſing of *Abraham* and the Land of *Canaan* to his Poſterity. *Jacob* did as his Father had directed him, and ſet

(a) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (b) 2 Kings viii. 20—22. (c) *See* Archbiſhop Uſher's Annals. Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. p. 11.
(d) Gen. xxvii. 41. (e) Chap. xxviii. *the* Hebrew *Words*, ver. 3. *And* God *Almighty will bleſs thee*, &c.

out for *Meſopotamia:* He was at firſt a little caſt down at the Length of the Way and the Hazard of Succeſs in his Journey; and when at Night he went to ſleep, with an Head and Heart full of Cares, the God of *Abraham* and of *Iſaac (f)* appeared to him in a Dream, and aſſured him, that he would preſerve and protect him in his Journey, and bring him ſafe back into *Canaan* again, that He would make him happy in a numerous Progeny, and in Time multiply them exceedingly, and give them the Land for an Inheritance which he had promiſed to *Abraham*; and moreover, that in Him, *i. e. in his Seed, all the Families of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed:* And thus at this time God expreſly promiſed to him that particular Bleſſing of *Abraham*, with the covenanted Mercies that belonged to it, which *Iſaac* had before given him Reaſon to hope for. *Jacob* was ſurprized at this extraordinary Viſion, and took the Stones upon which he had laid his Head and reared them up into a Pillar, and poured Oil upon the Top of it, and made a Vow, that if the God that thus appeared to him ſhould bleſs and preſerve him, protect him in his Journey, and bring him back in Safety, that then *the Lord ſhould be his God (g)*, and that he would worſhip him in the Place where he had now

(*f*) Gen. xxviii. 13. (*g*) Ver. 21. *See above p.* 148. [erected]

erected the Pillar, and that he would dedicate to his Service the Tenth of all the Subſtance he ſhould have.

Jacob purſued his Journey, and came to *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*, and found *Laban* and his Relations, and was received by them with great Joy and Welcome *(h)*; but as he was not the only Son of his Father, nor the elder Son; not the Heir of his Father's Subſtance; ſo he did not pretend to expect a Wife, in ſo pompous a way as his Father had formerly (*i*). *Laban* had two Daughters, *Leah* and *Rachel*: *Jacob* fancied the Younger, and propoſed to his Uncle *Laban*, that he would ſtay with him ſeven Years as his Servant to take Care of his Flocks, if he would give him *Rachel* to Wife: *Laban* agreed to his Propoſal, but at the End of the ſeven Years deceived him, and married him not to *Rachel* but to *Leah*: *Jacob* expreſſing ſome Diſſatisfaction at it, *Laban* told him, that he could not break thro' the Cuſtom of their Country, to marry his younger Daughter before his Elder; but that if he deſired it, he would give him *Rachel* too, and he ſhould ſerve him ſeven Years more for her, after he had married her: *Jacob* agreed to this, and when the Week was over for the Celebration of *Leah*'s Nuptials, he married *Rachel*, and continued with *Laban*, and

(*h*) Gen. xxix. (*i*) Chap. xxiv.

kept his Flocks ſeven Years more. At the Expiration of theſe ſeven Years, *Jacob* had a Family of twelve Children; he had ſix Sons and a Daughter by *Leah* (*k*); two Sons by *Zilpah*, *Leah*'s Maid (*l*); a Son by *Rachel* (*m*); and two Sons by *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s Maid (*n*). He began to think it Time to get into a Way of making ſome Proviſion for them, and therefore deſired *Laban* to diſmiſs him, and to let him return to his Father with his Wives and Children (*o*): *Laban* had found by Experience, that his Subſtance proſpered under *Jacob*'s Care, and was loth to part with him, and therefore agreed with him to ſtay upon ſuch Terms (*p*), that *Jacob* in a few Years grew rich under him, and was Maſter of very conſiderable Flocks of his own. *Laban* by degrees grew uneaſy at ſeeing him encreaſe ſo faſt; ſo that *Jacob* perceived that his *Countenance was not towards him as before*; that he was not ſo much in his Favour as he uſed to be, and hereupon he reſolved to leave him.

There is a very obvious Remark to be made upon *Jacob*'s Bargain with *Laban*, when he agreed to ſtay with him, and upon his Behaviour conſequent upon it: He bargained with *Laban* to ſerve him, upon

(*k*) Gen. xxix. 32, 33, 34, 35. xxx. 17, 19, 21. (*l*) Gen. xxx. 9, 12. (*m*) Ver. 23. (*n*) Ver. 4, 7. (*o*) Ver. 25, 26. (*p*) Ver. 28—43.

Condi-

Condition that he might take for Wages
ll the Speckled and Spotted Cattle, and
his with an Air of Integrity, to prevent
Miſtakes about his Hire (*q*). *ſo ſhall my Righteouſneſs*, ſays he, *anſwer for me in Time to come, when it ſhall come for my Hire before thy Face. Jacob* ſeemed to de-
ire to make a clear and expreſs Bargain,
bout which they might have no Diſputes:
f they had agreed for a particular Number
f Cattle every Year, there might have
een room for Cavil and Suſpicions: If
ny of the Flock had by Accident been
oſt, they might have differed, whether
Jacob's or *Laban*'s were the loſt Cattle;
ut to prevent all poſſible Diſputes, Let me,
ays *Jacob*, have all the Speckled and Spot-
ed Cattle, and then whenever you ſhall
ave a Mind to look into my Stock, my
ntegrity will at firſt Sight come before
our Face, or be conſpicuous; for you
vill immediately ſee whether I have any
Cattle beſides what belong to me: And
et we find, that after all this ſeeming
airneſs, *Jacob* very artfully over-reach'd
Laban, by uſing Means to have the beſt
Cattle always bring forth ſuch as he was
o take, and he ſo ordered it, as to get
way all the beſt of the Cattle, ſo that the
eebler only were *Laban*'s, and the ſtrong-
r *Jacob*'s (*r*); an Artifice which ſeems to

(*q*) Gen. xxx. 31, 32, 33. (*r*) Ver. 42.

argue him to have been a Man of very little Honesty: But to this it may be answered; 1. Tho' *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, and several other Writers, who are commonly cited by the Remarkers upon this Fact, and who all lived many Ages later than *Jacob*, have been of Opinion, that Impressions made upon the Imagination of the Dam at the Time of Conception, may have a great Effect upon the Form and Shape and Colour of the Young, and tho' it may hence be inferred, that such a Method as *Jacob* took might possibly produce the Effect, which it had upon *Laban*'s Cattle, yet I cannot think *Jacob* himself knew any thing of it: Men had not thus early inquired far into the Powers of Nature; Philosophy was as yet very low and vulgar, and Observations of this Sort were not thought of, or sought after: Religion and the Worship of God was in these Days the Wisdom of the World, and a Simplicity of Manners and Integrity of Life was more studied, than curious and Philosophical Enquiries. If Study and Philosophy had helped Men to these Arts, how came *Laban* and his Sons to know so very little? They surely must have apprehended, that *Jacob* might by Art variegate the Cattle as he pleased, and would not have made so weak a Bargain with him; but they certainly had no Notion that any such Thing could be done, nor had *Jacob* any Thought of it, when

when he bargained with *Laban*; but he choſe the Speckled Cattle only to put an End to all Cavils about his Wages, not doubting but God would ſo order it, that he ſhould have enough, and being determined to be contented with what God's Providence ſhould think fit to give him. It will here be asked, how came *Jacob* to make Uſe of the Pilled Rods, if he did not think this an artful Way to cauſe the Cattle to bring forth Ring-ſtraked, Speckled and Spotted Young ones? To this I anſwer, 2. That we read, that the Angel of God ſpake unto him about this Matter (*ſ*). God ſaw the Injuſtice of *Laban*'s Dealings with him, and the Honeſty and Fidelity

(*ſ*) *Here ſeems to be a Defect of* 2 *or* 3 *Verſes in our preſent Copies of the Bible.* Jacob *tells his Wives* (Gen. xxxi. 11.) *that the Angel of the Lord had ſpoken to him in a Dream, upon* Laban's *ill Uſage; but we have no Account of any Angel's ſpeaking to him in* Chap. xxxi, *before his uſing the Pilled Rods, in any of our Copies; but the* Samaritan *Verſion gives us very great Reaſon to think that there was originally a full Account of this Matter. After* ver. 36 *of* chap. 31, *the* Samaritan *Verſion inſerts as follows:* "And the Angel of the Lord called unto Jacob in a Dream, and ſaid, Jacob; and he anſwered, Here am I. And he ſaid, Lift up now thine Eyes, behold the Rams leaping upon the Cattle Ring-ſtreaked, Speckled, and Griſled; for I have ſeen all that Laban hath done to thee: I am the God of Bethel, to whom thou anointedſt a Pillar there, and to whom thou vowedſt a Vow there; but do thou ariſe now, and go out of this Land, and return into the Land of thy Father, and I will bleſs thee"— *then follows*: And Jacob took green Poplar Rods, *&c. The early Tranſcribers, thro' whoſe Hands we have received our preſent Copies of the Bible, may have dropped ſome ſuch Paſſage as this, which very fully anſwers to what* Jacob *afterwards told his Wives.*

of

of *Jacob* in his Service, and he determined to reward *Jacob*, and to puniſh *Laban*. We are told, that God revealed to *Jacob* in a Dream, that the Cattle ſhould be thus ſpotted, and very probably in the ſame Dream God ordered him to make Uſe of Pilled Rods in the manner he uſed them, and aſſured him, that if he did ſo, the Favour which he had promiſed him of encreaſing his Wages ſhould follow: We have frequent Inſtances in Scripture, of God's appointing Perſons to perform ſome Actions in order to receive his Bleſſings; and that, in one of theſe two Ways: ſometimes they are directed to do ſome Action, upon which they ſhould receive ſome Sign or Token, that what was promiſed them ſhould be performed: Thus *Abraham* was to take an Heifer of three Years old, and a She Goat, and a Ram, and a Turtle Dove, and a young Pigeon, and to lay them in order for a Sacrifice, and then he was to receive an Aſſurance, that He ſhould inherit *Canaan (u)*: At other Times they are commanded to perform ſome Action which might teſtify their believing in God, and depending upon his Promiſe, and upon doing ſuch Action the Favour promiſed was to follow: Thus *Naaman* the *Syrian*, when he came to beg of God a Cure of his Leproſy, was directed to waſh ſeven

(*u*) Gen. xv. 9.

times

mes in *Jordan* (*w*); his waſhing in *Jor-an* was to be an Evidence of his believ-g that God would heal him, and upon iving this Evidence of his Belief, he was be cured: And this was the Caſe of *Ja-ob* here before us: God had told him, that e *had ſeen all that Laban had done to im*; but that He would take Care that *he ould not hurt him*, and that he deſigned turn all *Laban*'s Contrivances to de-aud him of his Wages, ſo much to his dvantage, as that they ſhould tend to the ncreaſe of his Proſperity, and then God ommanded him in Token of his Belief nd Dependance upon him, to take the pil-d Rods, and uſe them as he directed him: *acob* believed, and did as he was com-anded; no more thinking, that the pilling hite Strakes in green Boughs, and laying em in the Troughs where the Flocks ere to drink, was a natural way to cauſe em to bring forth ſpeckled and ring-eaked Cattle, than *Naaman* did that aſhing in a River was a Cure for the eproſie; but in both Caſes the Favour xpected depending upon the ſpecial Pro-idence of God, the particular Directions f God were to be performed in order obtain it. But, 3. I do not think it can e proved, that the Method which *Jacob* ſed is a natural and effectual way of auſing Cattle to bring forth ſpeckled and

(*w*) 2 Kings v. 10.

ring-

ring-ſtreaked Young. As almoſt all the Conjectures of the ancient Heathen Writers upon the Powers of Nature had their firſt Riſe from ſome Hints or Facts in the *Hebrew* Writings; ſo perhaps what is offered by *Ariſtotle*, and other ancient Writers, about the Effects which Impreſſions made upon the Imagination of the Dam may have upon their Young, might be firſt occaſioned by this Fact thus recorded in the *Hebrew* Scriptures, or by ſome Remarks of ancient Writers made from it; but it is obſervable, that the ancient *Naturaliſts* carried their Thoughts upon theſe Subjects much further than they would bear; and we, who live in an Age of far better Philoſophy, do not find, that we know ſo much as *Ariſtotle* thought he did upon theſe Subjects. The Effects of Impreſſions upon the Imagination muſt be very accidental, becauſe the Objects that ſhould cauſe them may, or may not be taken Notice of, as any one would find, that ſhould try *Jacob*'s pilled Rods to variegate his Cattle with. The Waters of *Jordan* may cure a Leproſie, or *Jacob*'s pilled Rods produce ſpotted Cattle; either of theſe Means may have the deſired Effect, if a particular Providence directs them, but without ſuch Providence neither of theſe Means may have any Effect at all. I might add farther, 4. That if we ſhould allow that the pilled Rods, as *Jacob* uſed them,

them, might naturally produce the Effect upon *Laban*'s Cattle which followed; yet ſince, as I before hinted, we have no reaſon to think *Jacob* remarkably learned beyond *Laban* and all his Children, ſince it is not probable that he alone ſhould know this grand Secret, and all other Perſons have not the leaſt Suſpicion of it; we can at moſt only ſuppoſe that God directed him to what he did in this Matter. In *Hezekiah*'s Sickneſs (*x*) the Prophet directed an Application of Figs in order to his Recovery, and *Hezekiah* recovered upon the Application of them; but ſince this Application was made not by any Rules of Phyſick then known, but by a divine Direction, we cannot but aſcribe the Cure immediately to God himſelf, even tho' it may poſſibly be argued that Figs were a proper Medicine for *Hezekiah*'s Diſtemper: They were not then known or thought to be ſo, and therefore human Skill or Preſcriptton had no Part in the Cure. And thus in *Jacob*'s Caſe; if it can be ſuppoſed that pilled Rods may be naturally a means to variegate young Cattle, yet unleſs we can think that he knew that the uſe of them would naturally have this Effect, and that he uſed them, not in Obedience to a ſpecial Direction from God,

(*x*) Iſaiah xxxviii. 21.

but

but merely as an Art to get *Laban*'s Cattle, we cannot lay any Blame upon him; it cannot, I think, be ſuppoſed that *Jacob* had any ſuch Knowledge. God Almighty determined to puniſh *Laban* for his Injuſtice, and to reward *Jacob* for his Fidelity; and he revealed to *Jacob* the manner in which he deſigned to bleſs him, and ordered him to do an Action as a Token that he embraced God's Promiſe, and expected the Performance of it. *Jacob* faithfully obſerved the Orders that were given him, and God bleſſed him according to his Promiſe. And there is no reaſon for us to think, that *Jacob* knew of, or uſed any Art to over-reach *Laban*, and get away his Cattle; but the true Concluſion is that, which *Jacob* himſelf expreſſed in his Speech to his Wives: *Ye know, that with all my Power, I have ſerved your Father; And your Father hath deceived me, and changed my Wages ten times; but God ſuffered him not to hurt me. If he ſaid thus, The ſpeckled ſhall be thy Wages, then all the Cattle bare ſpeckled: and if he ſaid thus, The ring-ſtraked ſhall be thy Hire, then bare all the Cattle ring-ſtraked. Thus God hath taken away the Cattle of your Father, and given them unto me* (*y*).

(*y*) Gen. xxxi. 6 --- 9.

Jacob

Jacob finding *Laban* and his Sons every Day more and more indiſpoſed towards him, took an Opportunity, and contrived Matters with his Wives, and ſeparated his own from his Father-in-Law's Cattle, and retired in a private Manner, and paſſed over *Euphrates*, and made for Mount *Gilead* (*z*). He was gone three Days before *Laban* heard of it: As ſoon as it was told him, he gathered his Family together and purſued him for ſeven Days, and overtook him at *Gilead*. From *Haran* to Mount *Gilead* muſt be above 250 Miles, ſo that *Jacob* made haſte to travel thither in ten Days, going about 25 Miles each Day; and *Laban*'s Purſuit of him was very eager, for he march'd about 37 Miles a-day for ſeven Days together: but he was reſolved to overtake him. And when he came up with him, he purpoſed in his Heart to revenge himſelf upon him; but here God was pleaſed to interpoſe, and warn *Laban* not to offer *Jacob* any Evil (*a*). Hereupon, when he came up to him, he only expoſtulated with him his manner of leaving him, and complained that he had ſtolen his *Teraphim*, which *Rachel*, fond of the Memory of her Anceſtors, had, without *Jacob*'s Knowledge, taken away with her (*b*); but upon *Jacob*'s offering all his Company

(*z*) Gen. xxxi. 17. (*a*) Ver. 24. (*b*) Ver. 30.
Vol. I. Book. 5. p. 349.

to

to be ſearched, *Laban* not being able t
find where *Rachel* had hid them, the
grew Friends, made a ſolemn Engagemen
to each other, and then parted. *Laba*
returned home, and *Jacob* went on to
wards the Place where he had left hi
Father.

Jacob was now returning into *Canaa*
in great Proſperity; he was a few Year
before very low in the World, but now h
had Wives, and Children, and Servant
and a Subſtance abundantly ſufficient t
maintain them. When he went over *Jor*
dan to go to *Haran*, his Staff or Walkin
ſtick was all his Subſtance; but now h
came to repaſs it, in order to return int
Canaan, he found himſelf Maſter of
large a Family, as to make up two Band
or Companies (*c*); and all this Increaſe
juſtly acquired, that he could with an a
ſured Heart look up to God, and ac
knowledge his having truly bleſſed him (
according to the Promiſe which he ha
made him.

After *Jacob* had parted from *Laba*
he began to think of the Danger th
might befal him at his Return home. Th
Diſpleaſure of his Brother *Eſau* came fre
into his Mind, and he was ſenſible he cou
have no Security, if he did not make h
Peace with him. *Eſau*, when *Jacob* we

(*c*) Gen. xxxii. 10. (*d*) Chap. xxxi. 9. & xxxii. 12.

to *Haran*, obſerving how ſtrictly his Father charged him not to marry a *Canaanite*, began to be diſſatisfied with his own Marriages *(a)*, and went hereupon to *Iſhmael* and married one of his Daughters, and went and lived in Mount *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*. And *Jacob* finding by Inquiry that he was ſettled here, thought it neceſſary to ſend to him in order to appeaſe him, that he might be ſecure of living without Moleſtation from him.

Some Writers have queſtioned why, or how *Jacob* ſhould ſend this Meſſage to his Brother: *Jacob* was in *Gilead*, and *Eſau* in Mount *Seir*, 120 Miles at leaſt diſtant from one another. *Jacob* went down *Gilead* to the Brook *Jabbok* *(b)*, and his way thence lay over *Jordan* into *Canaan*, without coming any nearer to *Eſau*; why therefore ſhould he ſend to him? or having himſelf lived ſo long at ſuch a Diſtance, how ſhould he know where he was ſettled, or what was become of him? Theſe Objections have been thought conſiderable by ſome very good Writers, and *Adrichomius* conceived it neceſſary to deſcribe *Seir* in a different Situation from that in which the common Maps of *Canaan* place it. He imagined, that there were two diſtinct Countries called by the Name

(*a*) Gen. xxviii. 6—9. (*b*) Chap. xxxii. 22.

of the Land of *Edom*, and in each of them a Mountain called *Seir*, and that one of them, namely that in which *Eſau* lived at this time, lay near to Mount *Gilead*; and *Brocard* and *Torniellus* (*d*) are ſaid to have been of the ſame Opinion. They ſay, the Children of *Eſau* removed hence in time into the other *Edom* or *Idumea*, when they grew ſtrong enough to expel the *Horites* out of it (*e*); but that they did not live in this *Edom*, which was the Land of the *Horites*, in *Jacob*'s Days. But as there are no Accounts of *Canaan* which can favour this Opinion, ſo I cannot ſee how this Situation of *Edom* can be admitted. They make and invent Names and Places, which no Writers but themſelves ever knew of, and ſo create real Difficulties in *Geography*, to ſolve imaginary ones in Hiſtory. The *Horites* were indeed the firſt Inhabitants of *Seir*, and the Land of *Edom*, and were in Poſſeſſion of it in *Eſau*'s Days; for he married one of their Daughters, namely *Aholibamah* the Grand-daughter of *Zibeon* (*f*), and Daughter of *Anah*; and this *Zibeon* was the Son of *Seir* the *Horite* (*g*), and *Anah* was *Seir*'s Grandſon (*h*), and both of them were in their Turns Dukes or Princes in the Land (*i*). *Eſau*

(*d*) Pool's Syn. in loc. (*e*) Deut. ii. 12. (*f*) Gen. xxxvi. 2. (*g*) Ver. 20. (*h*) Ibid. (*i*) Ver. 29.

therefore

herefore lived and married in this Coun-
ry; for here only we find the Perſons
hoſe Daughter he took to Wife, and he
ved here a Sojourner in the Kingdoms of
ther Men, until after ſome Generations
od gave this Country to his Children,
ho deſtroyed the *Horims*, and took Poſ-
ſion of their Country, as *Iſrael* did of
e Land of his Poſſeſſion, which the Lord
ve unto them (k). As to Mount *Seir*'s
ing very diſtant from *Gilead* where *Ja-*
b ſtopped, and ſent Meſſengers to *Eſau*,
is certain it was ſo; ſo far diſtant, that
er *Jacob* and *Eſau* had met, *Jacob* re-
eſented it as too long a Journey for his
ildren to take, or his Cattle to be dri-
n, but by eaſy Advances *(l)*. It is eaſy
ſay, how *Jacob* could tell where *Eſau*
ed, and why he thought fit to ſend to
m. It is not to be imagined, that *Jacob*
uld be ſo imprudent as to carry his
ives, Children and Subſtance into *Ca-*
an, without knowing whether he might
ely venture thither; and therefore very
obably, when he reſted at *Gilead*, he ſent
eſſengers to inquire whether his Father
s alive; what Condition he was in, and
at Temper the Inhabitants of the Land
w'd him, and whether he might ſafely
me and live near him: And when he

(k) Deut. ii. 12. (l) Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14.

found that he ſhould meet with no Ob
ſtruction, if he could but reconcile *Eſa*
to him, he very prudently ſent to him a
ſo, intending, if he ſhould find *Eſau*
verſe to him, to bend his Courſe ſome
ther way *. And thus *Jacob*'s Meſſage
Eſau may be beſt accounted for, by ſu
poſing *Eſau*'s Habitation in the Land
Edom, to be according to the comm
and known *Geography* of that Countr
and *Adrichomius*'s Scheme of two *Edo*
being a mere Fiction, purely to ſolve
ſeeming Difficulty, ought juſtly to be r
jected.

Jacob was in more than ordinary Fe
of his Brother *Eſau*, and his Meſſeng
at their Return ſurprized him ſtill mo
by informing him, that *Eſau* was comi

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* *If we conſider what had paſſed between* Eſau *and* Jacob, b
Jacob *went from home, it will appear very proper that* Jacob ſ
ſend to him, before he ventured to come and ſit down with his
ſtance near his Father. Eſau *ſtill expected to be his Father's h*
and if Jacob *had return'd Home without* Eſau's *Knowledge, it w*
have laid a Foundation for a greater Miſunderſtanding at la
Death, than any that had as yet been between them. Eſau *w*
have thought, that Jacob *had got the greateſt Part of his Subſ*
from his Father; and when he came, at Iſaac's *Death, to take*
with him into Edom, *what his Father had to leave him, he w*
have look'd upon Jacob, *as having for many Years been contr*
to get from him all he could. It was therefore Jacob's *Inter*
have Eſau *fully ſatisfied in this Point, and for this Reaſon, as w*
others, he ſent to him, to apprize him, that he brought his
ſtance with him from Haran, *and that he was not going into Ca*
to do him any Injury.

fter them attended by 400 Men *(m)*. He oncluded now, that his Brother had a Deſign to take his full Revenge, and de-troy him and all that belonged to him. In is Diſtreſs he cried unto God, and after hat applied himſelf to contrive the moſt ikely Expedients for his Safety. Firſt of ll he divided his Company into two Parts, hat if *Eſau* ſhould fall upon one Part, he ight have a Poſſibility of eſcaping with he other. In the next Place, he ordered very extraordinary Preſent of the Choice f his Flocks and Herds divided into ſeveral Droves, and theſe he ſent before him: Af-er this he ſent his Wives and Children, nd all his Subſtance over the Brook *Jab-ok (n)*, ſtaying himſelf alone ſome time ehind them. And here God was pleaſed o put an end to his Fears, by giving him n extraordinary Sign or Token, to aſſure im that he ſhould get through all the Dif-iculties that ſeem'd to threaten him. There ame an Angel in the Shape and Appear-nce of a Man, and wreſtled with him. It as the ſame Divine Perſon, according to *Hoſea (m)*, that appeared to him at *Be-hel*. They ſtruggled together, but the ngel did not overcome him; and at par-ing, when the Angel bleſſed him, he told im the Deſign of his Conteſt with him; that

(m) Gen. xxxii. 6. (n) Ver. 22, 23. (m) Hoſea xii. 4.

it was to inſtruct him, that as he had not been conquered in this Conteſt, ſo neither ſhould he be overcome by the Difficulties that threatned him. The Angel ſaid to him, *thy Name ſhall be called no more Jacob but Iſrael; for as a Prince haſt thou Power with God, and with Men, and haſt prevailed (n)*; or rather the latter Part of the Verſe ſhould be thus tranſlated, *for thou haſt been a Prevailer with God; and with Men thou ſhalt alſo powerfully prevail.* This is the true *Verbal* Tranſlation of the *Hebrew* Words; and the (o) Vulgar *Latin*, the LXX, and *Onkelos* in his *Targum*, have very juſtly expreſſed the true Senſe of the Place, but our *Engliſh* Verſion is too obſcure.

Jacob, full of the Aſſurance which the Angel had given him, prepared his Wives and Children to meet *Eſau*; and inſtructed them, when they ſhould come up to him, to pay him all poſſible Reſpect by bowing down to him: He himſelf came up laſt, and when he met *Eſau*, he bowed himſelf to the Ground ſeven times. What-

(n) Gen. xxxii. 28.

(o) *The* Hebrew *Words are*

כי שרית עם אלהים ועם אנשים ותוכל

prævalebis etiam hominibus cum & Deo cum prævaluiſti Quoniam *The Vulgar* Latin *tranſlates the Place*, Quoniam ſi contra Deum fortis fuiſti, quantò magis contra homines prævalebis. *The LXX render the Place*, Ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατὸς ἔσῃ. Onkelos *has it* Quoniam Princeps es tu coram Deo & cum Hominibus prævalebis.

ver Apprehenſions *Jacob* had entertained
f *Eſau*'s Reſentments, he had the Hap-
ineſs to find him in a much better Temper
han he expected: *Eſau* was full of all poſ-
ible Affection towards him, he ran at Sight
o meet him, he embraced him with the
reateſt Tenderneſs *(p)*, and wept over
im with Tears of Joy. As to the Preſent
f the Cattle, *Eſau* would not have taken it,
or he ſaid he had enough, but *Jacob* preſſed
im to accept it. *Eſau* invited *Jacob* to
eir, and offered to conduct him thither;
ut *Jacob* had no deſign to accept the In-
itation, and yet was afraid directly to re-
uſe it. He deſigned to keep at a conve-
ient Diſtance, and not to live too near, for
ear of future Inconveniencies. He there-
ore repreſented the Tenderneſs of his
Children and Flock, that they could not
ravel with Expedition; he beg'd they
ight not confine him to their ſlow Move-
ents, but that he would return home his
wn Pace, and that they would follow as
aſt as they could conveniently. *Eſau* then
ffered him ſome of his Servants to ſhew
im the Way; but *Jacob* evaded this Of-
er alſo, and ſo they parted. *Eſau* went
o *Seir*, expecting his Brother ſhould fol-
ow him; but *Jacob* turned another way,
ent to *Succoth* and built himſelf an Houſe,
nd lived there ſome time; and afterwards

(*p*) Gen. xxxiii. 4.

removed to *Salem* a City of the *Shechemites*, and bought some Ground of the Children of *Hamor*, and there settled (*q*).

Soon after *Jacob* was fixed at *Shechem*, there happened a Misfortune, which unsettled him again (*r*) His Daughter *Dinah* visited the *Shechemites*, and *Shechem* the Prince of the Country fell in Love with her, and lay with her. Her Father and Brothers resenting the Injury and Scandal of so base an Action, could not bear the Thoughts of being reconciled to him, tho' he all along had a most passionate Desire to marry *Dinah*: He had desired his Father *Hamor* to treat with *Jacob* about it, and *Hamor* desired *Jacob*'s Consent to it upon any Terms; but in their Treating about it the Sons of *Jacob answered Hamor and Shechem deceitfully*, and pretended that they could make no Marriages with an uncircumcised People. Hereupon *Hamor* and *Shechem* perswaded all their People to be circumcised, in order to incorporate with *Jacob*'s Family; but when this was done, three Days after the Operation, when the *Shechemites* were not fit for War, two of *Jacob*'s Sons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, *took each Man his Sword, and came upon the City boldly, and slew all the Males*, and they killed *Hamor* and *Shechem* and took away *Dinah* out of the House (*s*)

(*q*) Gen. xxxiii. 19. (*r*) Chap. xxxiv. (*s*) Ver. 25.

And as ſoon as *Simeon* and *Levi* had thus executed the Part of the Revenge, which they had taken upon themſelves to perform for the Abuſe of their Siſter, the other Sons of *Jacob* (*t*), who had very probably armed their Servants, and were ready to have aſſiſted *Simeon* and *Levi*, if they had wanted it, came upon the Slain and ſpoiled the City; they ſeized upon the Cattle and Wealth of the *Shechemites*, and took their Wives and their little ones Captive. *Jacob* was much concerned at theſe furious Proceedings of his Sons, and apprehended that the Inhabitants of the Land would unite againſt him for this violent Outrage; but his Sons *Simeon* and *Levi* were ſo warmed with the Thoughts of the Diſhonour done their Siſter and Family, that they did not think they had carried their Reſentments too far for ſo baſe an Injury (*u*). However, *Jacob* thought he ſhould be more ſecure, if he removed his Habitation to ſome other Part of the Country; and upon receiving a particular Direction from God where to go, he removed to *Bethel* (*w*).

Upon *Jacob*'s deſigning to go to *Bethel*, he found it neceſſary to make a Reformation in his Family, and *ſaid unto his Houſ-*

(*t*) Gen. xxxiv. 27. Quibus egreſſis irruerunt ſuper occiſos cæteri Filii Jacob. Verſ. vulg. Lat. (*u*) Ver. 31.
(*w*) Gen. xxxv. 1. 6.

hold,

hold, and to all that were with him, Put away the ſtrange Gods that are among you (*x*); ſo that one would gueſs from theſe Words, that Idols and Idolatry were crept into his Family; and ſome Writers imagine, that *Rachel* his Wife introduced them, by bringing out of *Haran* her Father's *Teraphim*, which ſhe ſtole at her coming away from him. But it is remarkable, that *Jacob* had now with him more Perſons than his own Houſhold; for over and above theſe, he ſpake unto *all that were with him*. The Captives of *Shechem*, which his Sons had taken, were now to be incorporated into his Family, and he had to reduce them into new order; to abrogate any Habits of their Dreſs or Ornaments, or any Rites or Uſages in Religion, which they might have uſed at *Shechem*, if he judged them unſuitable to his Religion, or to the Order in which he deſired to keep his Family; and agreeably hereto, the Gods he took care to put away were not the [*Teraphim*] or little Pillars or Statues which *Rachel* brought from *Haran* (*y*), but the [*elohei han-necar*] *Gods of the Stranger*, that was in the midſt of them, or amongſt them, *i. e.* of the *Shechemites*, whom they had taken Captive and brought into his Family. The *Hebrew* Words are

(*x*) Gen. xxxv. 2. (*y*) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 349.

remarkably

emarkably different from our *Engliſh* Tranſlation: The Word *ſtrange* in the *Hebrew* does not refer to *Gods*, as our Tranſlators took it, and therefore rendered the Place *ſtrange Gods*, but the *Hebrew* Words are as I have tranſlated them, *the Gods* of *the Stranger*, &c. and theſe, together with the ſuperfluous Ornaments of Dreſs, which the *Shechemitiſh* Women had uſed, were what he took away, and buried under an Oak in *Shechem* (*z*), in order to preſerve in his Family that Purity of Worſhip, and Simplicity of Life and Manners, which he deſigned to keep up amongſt them. After he had done this, he removed for *Bethel*, and gat ſafe thither: The Inhabitants of the ſeveral Cities round about him were ſo far from any Thoughts of attacking him, that they look'd upon him as a Perſon powerful enough to engage with any of them, and were very much afraid of him (*a*). After *Jacob* came to *Bethel*, God appeared to him, and confirmed the Change of his Name, which had been made at *Jabbok*, and gave him freſh Aſſurance of his Deſign of bleſſing and multiplying his Poſterity, and of giving them the Inheritance of the Land of *Canaan* (*b*). Some time after this *Jacob* journeyed from *Bethel*, and near *Ephrath* his Wife *Rachel* died in La-

(*z*) Gen. xxxv. 4. (*a*) Ver. 5. (*b*) Ver. 9---12.

bour

bour of *Benjamin* (*c*), and *Jacob* buried her near *Ephrath* or *Bethlehem* (*d*). From hence *Jacob* removed, and ſpread his Tent beyond the Tower of *Edar*; and ſoon after he removed hence, and came to the Plain of *Mamre*, unto the City of *Arbah* or *Hebron*, unto his Father *Iſaac*, who at that time lived here (*e*). He had met with ſeveral Misfortunes from the time that he removed from *Bethel*; the Death of his Wife at *Ephrath*, and his Son *Reuben*'s Baſeneſs in lying with his Concubine *Bilhah* at *Edar*; and beſides theſe, there was a Difference amongſt his Children, which in a little time ended in the Loſs of his Son *Joſeph* (*f*).

Joſeph was his beloved Child, a Circumſtance which drew upon him the Envy of his Brethren, which encreaſed to a perfect Hatred, upon his telling them ſome Dreams, which ſeem'd to imply that he ſhould be advanced in the World far above any of them. They told *Jacob* of *Joſeph*'s Dreams, and *Jacob* thought it proper to diſcountenance the aſpiring Thoughts which he imagined they would too naturally lead him to; however, he could not but think in his Heart, that there was ſomething more than ordinary in them (*g*). Some time after, *Jacob* ſent *Joſeph* from *Hebron* to *Dothan*, where his other

(*c*) Gen. xxxv. 16—18. (*d*) Ver. 19. (*e*) Ver. 21, 27
(*f*) Ver. 22. & Chap. xxxvii. (*g*) Gen. xxxvii. 3—11.

Sons

Sons were taking care of the Flocks; as ſoon as *Joſeph* came in ſight of them, they called to mind his Dreams, and were in a great Heat about him, and deſigned to kill him; but *Reuben* endeavoured to prevent his being murdered, and perſuaded them to throw him into a Pit, and there to leave him, intending when they were all gone, to come back to the Place and help him out, and ſo to ſend him home to his Father (*h*): But whilſt they were in theſe Debates, there happened to come ſome *Iſhmeelites*, who were travelling from Mount *Gilead* to *Egypt* with Spicery, and upon ſight of them, they determined to ſell him (*i*). They ſold him, and the *Iſhmeelites* carried him to *Egypt*, and there ſold him again to *Potiphar*, the Captain of the King's Guard (*k*). *Jacob*'s Sons killed a Kid, and dipped *Joſeph*'s Coat in the Blood of it, and at their coming home, told their Father that they found it in that Condition; ſo that *Jacob* thought ſome wild Beaſt had killed him, and he mourned exceedingly for him (*l*). *Joſeph* was more than ſeventeen Years old when his Brethren ſold him into *Egypt* (*m*), and about eight or nine Years after he was ſold thither *Iſaac* being 180 Years old died, *A. M.* 2288 (*n*).

(*h*) Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22. (*i*) Ver. 25—28. (*k*) Ver. 36. (*l*) Ver. 31—35. (*m*) *For he was ſeventeen when* Jacob *lived at* Edar. Ver. 2. (*n*) Gen. xxxv. 28, 29.

Iſaac's

Iſaac's Death brought *Eſau* and *Jacob* to another Meeting; for *Eſau* came from *Seir* to *Mamre* to aſſiſt at his Father's Funeral, and to receive as Heir his Father's Subſtance. *Jacob*, tho' he came to *Mamre* to live near his Father ſome Years before *Iſaac* died, had yet been exceeding careful of laying any Foundation for a Miſunderſtanding with his Brother, and therefore had not brought his Flocks and Subſtance into that Part of the Country: For we find that when he lived at *Hebron*, his Sons were ſent to take care of the Flocks to *Shechem* and *Dothan* (*o*); ſo that he had carefully kept his Subſtance at a Diſtance, and given *Eſau* no Reaſon to ſuſpect, that he had any ways intermixed what he had gotten with what was his Father's, or taken any Opportunity to get away any thing from his Father, to *Eſau*'s Hindrance. After *Iſaac* was buried, *Eſau* had no mind to live at *Mamre*; for he conſidered, that what he had at *Seir*, and what he had now got at *Canaan* by his Father's Death, would be ſo great a Stock, that it would be difficult to find ſufficient room for him to live in *Canaan*, eſpecially if his Brother *Jacob* ſhould ſettle there near him; and therefore he took what he had in *Canaan* (*a*), and carried it with him into *Seir*.

(*o*) Gen. xxxvii. 13, & 17. (*a*) Chap. xxxvi. 6.

The

The Land of *Seir* was at this Time poſ-
eſſed by the *Horites* or *Horims* (*b*), and
heſe were the Inhabitants of it in the Days
f *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, out of
hoſe Hand *Abraham* reſcued *Lot*, found
hem here when he brought his Armies to
bdue the Nations of *Canaan* (*c*). *Seir*
e *Horite* was cotemporary with *Abra-*
am and *Chedorlaomer*, tho' probably ſome-
ing older than *Abraham*; for *Eſau*, *A-*
raham's Grandſon, married *Aholibamah* the
aughter of *Seir*'s Grandſon (*d*). If *Seir*
as King of the *Horites*, he might fall in
attle; for *Chedorlaomer ſmote the Horites*
their Mount Seir unto El-paran (*e*).
nder the Sons of *Seir*, the *Horites* ga-
ered ſome Strength again, and were go-
rned by *Seir*'s Sons, who became Dukes
the Land (*f*), either ruling jointly, or
tting up ſeveral little Sovereignties; and
the Time of theſe Dukes *Eſau* came to
e at *Seir*. His full Determination of ſet-
ng there was at *Iſaac*'s Death (*g*), to-
rds the Decline of *Eſau*'s Life; for *I-*
ac was 60 Years old when *Eſau* was
rn (*h*), and he lived to be 180 (*i*), ſo that
ſau at his Death was 120, and this muſt
in the Time of the third Generation
m *Seir*, when the Children of *Lotan*,

(*b*) Deut. ii. 12. (*c*) Gen. xiv. 6. (*d*) Chap. xxxvi. 20.
Chap. xiv. 6. (*f*) Chap. xxxvi. 21. (*g*) Ver. 6.
Chap. xxv. 26. (*i*) Chap. xxxv. 28.

and

and of *Zibeon*, and of *Shobal*, and of *An*
the Sons of *Seir*, ruled the Land; and
greeably hereto *Esau* married a Daught
of the Men of this Generation; *Aholib*
mah the Daughter of *Anah*; which *An*
was not *Anah* the Son of *Seir*, but *An*
the Son of *Zibeon*, and Grandson
Seir (*k*), *this was that Anah, who fou*
the Mules in the Wilderness as he fed t
Asses of Zibeon his Father (*l*), for he
by this Action distinguished from the oth
Anah. The Sons of *Seir* did not keep t
Dominion of these Countries long, for t
Children of *Esau* got it from them. T
Children of *Esau destroyed the Horit*
and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did
the Land of his Possession, which the Lo
gave unto him (*m*); and this Conquest
the *Horites* happened not in *Esau*'s Da
nor in his Children's or Grand-Childre
Days; but in the Days of his Grand-Ch
dren's Children; for the Descendants
Esau, who became Dukes of *Edom*, we
Timna, *Alia*, *Jetheth*, *Aholibamah*, *El*
Pinon, *Kenaz*, *Teman*, *Mibzar*, *Magdi*
Iram, as the Writer of the Book of Chr
nicles has expressly remarked (*n*), *Th*
were the Dukes of Edom: Esau, and t
Children of *Esau*, and their Children, a
all enumerated, but they are not said

(*k*) Gen. xxxvi. 2, 20, 24. (*l*) Ver. 24. (*m*) Deut. ii
(*n*) 1 Chron. i. 51, ad fin.

ave been *Dukes of Edom*; but the Per-ons above mentioned only (*o*). I am ſen-ible, that what I have here offered may e thought not intirely to agree with what ve find in the xxxvith Chap. of *Geneſis*. In hat Chapter ſome of the Sons of *Eſau* are aid to have been Dukes (*p*), and moſt of is Grand-Children are likewiſe ſaid to ave arrived at this Dignity (*q*). But in nſwer to this it ſhould be remarked, that he Verſes from Ver. 15 to Ver. 20, do not ay, that the Sons or Grand-ſons of *Eſau* here mentioned were *Dukes* of *Edom*, but nly that they were *Dukes in the Land of Edom:* And this is a Diſtinction that ſhould arefully be obſerved; for the true Matter f Fact was this; the Children of *Eſau*, in he Days of *Eſau*'s Sons and Grand-ſons, et up a Form of Government amongſt hemſelves, and over their own Families, nd the Perſons that ruled them were *Dukes*; not *over the Land of Edom*, for he Inhabitants of the Land were not yet ubject to them, but they were *Dukes in he Land*, and ruled the Children of *Eſau*, nd ſo were, as they are called, [*Alephaiv*] *heir* Dukes (*r*). Their Children after-wards conquered the *Horites*, and took Poſſeſſion of the whole Land, and ſo be-came *Dukes of Edom*; and the Perſons

(*o*) 1 Chron. i. 35---37. (*p*) Gen. xxxvi. 18. (*q*) Ver. 15, 16, 17. (*r*) Ver. 19.

that attained this larger Dignity were the Perſons mentioned Ver. 40, 41, 42, 43 theſe be the *Dukes of Edom.* And thus the ſeveral Parts of this Chapter may be reconciled to one another, and this Chapter made intirely agreeable to the firſt Chap of 1 *Chronicles.* If the Dukes that came o *Eſau* had been all alike Dukes of *Edom* they would have been placed all together but ſome of them being only the Rulers o their own Children, and the others th Governors of the whole Land, the Write of the Book of *Geneſis* ſeparates and di ſtinguiſhes the one from the other; and th Writer of the Book of *Chronicles* doe not mention the one Order to have bee Dukes at all, determining to give the T tle to thoſe only who had governed th whole Country. The Children of *Eſa* when they had made themſelves Dukes *Edom*, continued this Form of Govern ment but a little while, for they ſoon afte ſet up a King. The Time when they ſ up a King, may be determined from *M ſes:* They were governed by Dukes, whe the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* (*q*), an they had a King when *Moſes* would hav paſſed thro' their Land to *Canaan* (*r*); that their firſt King was cotemporary wi *Moſes*, and began his Reign a little aft the *Iſraelites* came out of *Egypt*, *i. e.*

(*q*) Exod. xv. 15. (*r*) Numb. xx. 14.

bout *A. M.* 2515 (*s*); and his reigning at this Time is very conſiſtent with his ſucceeding *Eſau*'s Grand-Children's Children; for *Moſes* was the fifth in Deſcent from *Jacob*, as this firſt King of *Edom* was from *Eſau*; for the Father of *Moſes* was *Amram*, his Father *Cohath*, *Levi* was the Father of *Cohath*, and Son of *Jacob* (*t*); ſo that the Deſcents or Generations in each Family correſpond very exactly: The firſt King of *Edom* was *Bela* the Son of *Beor* (*u*), and he was the Brother of *Balaam*, whom *Balak* ſent for about this Time to curſe *Iſrael*; for *Beor* was *Balaam*'s Father (*w*). The *Edomites* had eight ſucceſſive Kings *before there reign'd any King over the Children of Iſrael* (*x*); and ſo they might very well have; for from the beginning of *Bela*'s Reign, to the Time that *Saul* was anointed King over *Iſrael*, *A. M.* 2909 (*y*), is 399 Years; ſo that theſe eight Kings of *Edom* muſt be ſuppoſed one with another to reign ſomething above 48 Years a-piece, which ſuits very well with the Length of Men's Lives in theſe Times. And thus I have gone thro' the Account we have of *Eſau*'s Family, from *Eſau* to the Time that *Saul* reign'd over *Iſrael*; and I think from what has

(*s*) *Archbiſhop* Uſher's Chron. (*t*) 1 Chron. vi. 1, 2, 3.
(*u*) Gen. xxxvi. 32. (*w*) Numb. xxii. 5. (*x*) Gen. xxxvi. 31
1 Chron. i. 43. (*y*) *Archbiſhop* Uſher's Chron.

been ſaid it will eaſily appear, that the ſeveral Parts of the xxxvith Chapter of *Geneſis* are intirely conſiſtent with one another, and the whole agreeable to the Account we have of the ſame Family in the Book of *Chronicles*. Some learned Writers have made great Difficulties in their Explications of *Moſes*'s Account of this Family, and have been in great Doubt, whether the Kings mentioned from Ver. 31. to 40, were Sons of *Eſau*, or *Horites*, and when they reign'd; but I think their Reigns do fall ſo naturally into the Compaſs of Time in which I have placed them, that there can be little Reaſon to imagine, that this is not the true Place of them; and none, if *Beor* the Father of *Balaam* was the Father of *Bela* the firſt of theſe Kings, which ſeems very probable; for if *Beor* (mentioned *Gen.* xxxvi. 32.) had not been the ſame Perſon with the Father of *Balaam* (*a*), *Moſes* would either not have mentioned the Name at all, or have diſtinguiſhed the one Perſon from the other. The Dukes of *Edom* being placed after the Liſt of the Kings, hath occaſioned ſome learned Writers to imagine that they ſucceeded them, and the *Latin* Verſion in the firſt Chapter of the firſt Book of *Chronicles* favours their Opinion very much (*b*).

(*a*) Numb. xxii. 5. (*b*) 1 Chron. i. 51. *is tranſlated thus* Mortuo autem Adad, Duces pro Regibus eſſe cœperunt.

but

but the *Hebrew* Words do not at all countenance ſuch a Verſion; and we find from *Saul's* Time, where-ever the *Edomites* are ſpoken of, they were governed by a King, and not by Dukes. It is ſaid, that if the Dukes at the end of the Chapter were before the Kings, then the Order of the Narration is very unnatural: I anſwer, not very unnatural, if rightly conſidered; for it is only thus; 1. We have an Account of *Eſau's* Family from Verſe 9 to Verſe 15, and this Family being very numerous, for we read that *Eſau* had an Attendance of 400 Men, it is remarked, that they ſet up a Civil Government amongſt themſelves, and we are told who the Perſons were that bore Rule amongſt them from Verſe 15 to Verſe 20. 2. Then follows an Account of the *Horites* in whoſe Land *Eſau* and his Children dwelt, from Verſe 20 to Verſe 30. 3. In the next Place we have an Account of the Kings, which the Children of *Eſau* were governed by after they had expelled the *Horites*, and before the Time that the *Iſraelites* had a King, from Ver. 31 to Ver. 39. 4. It is remarked that Kings were not the firſt Rulers of the Land of *Edom* which the Sons of *Eſau* ſet up, for they had one Generation of Dukes of *Edom*, Verſe 40 to the end. The moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* (*c*) very juſtly obſerves, that "the

(*c*) Connect. Part I. Book 5. p. 492.

" Words in the 31ſt Verſe of this Chapter, " *And theſe are the Kings that reigned in* " *the Land of Edom, before there reigned* " *any King over the Land of Iſrael*, could " not have been ſaid, till after there had " been a King in *Iſrael*, and therefore can- " not be *Moſes*'s Words, but muſt have been " interpolated afterwards;" and it is hard to conceive, that the Liſt of Kings there mentioned could be inſerted by him, when all, except the firſt, reigned after *Moſes* was dead. If this be the Caſe, if I could have the Authority of any learned Writer to ſuppoſe that *Ezra*, or whoever was the inſpired Writer that inſerted them *(d)*, might at firſt inſert theſe Kings after the Dukes at the End of the Chapter, but that ſome careleſs Tranſcribers have miſplaced them, I ſhould readily embrace it.

We meet with no further mention of *Eſau*'s Life, Death or Actions, in *Moſes*'s Hiſtory; but it may not be amiſs, before we leave him, to take a ſhort View of his Character. *Eſau* was a plain, generous, and honeſt Man: for we have no Reaſon, from any Thing that appears in his Life or Actions, to think him wicked beyond other Men of his Age and Times; and his generous and good Temper appears from

(d) *The moſt learned Dean intimates* Ezra *to be undoubtedly the Author of this and the other Interpolations which he mentions*, pag. 493.

all

all his Behaviour towards his Brother: The Artifice uſed to deprive him of the Bleſſing, did at the Time abundantly engage him, and in the Heat of Paſſion he thought when *Iſaac* ſhould be dead to take a full Revenge, and kill his Brother for ſupplanting him; but a little Time reduced him to be calm again, and he never took one Step to *Jacob*'s Injury. When they firſt met he was all Humanity and Affection (*e*); and he had no Uneaſineſs, when he found that *Jacob* followed him not to *Seir*, but went to live near his Father: and at *Iſaac*'s Death, we do not find he made any Difficulty of quitting *Canaan*, which was the very Point which, if he had harboured any latent Intentions, would have revived all his Reſentments. He is indeed called in Scripture the prophane *Eſau* (*f*), and he is ſaid to have been hated of God, *the Children*, ſays St. *Paul* (*g*), *being not yet born, neither having done any Good or Evil, that the Purpoſe of God, according to Election might ſtand, not of Works, but of him that calleth, it was ſaid unto her, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger.* And it is written, *Jacob have I loved and Eſau have I hated* (*h*): There is, I think, no Reaſon to infer from any of theſe Expreſſions, that *Eſau* was a very wicked Man,

(*e*) Gen. xxxiii. 4. (*f*) Heb. xii. 16. (*g*) Rom. ix. 11, 12. (*h*) Ver. 13.

or that God hated and punished him for an immoral Life. For, 1. The Sentence here against him is said expressly to be founded, not upon his Actions, for it was determined before the Children had done Good or Evil. 2. God's Hatred of *Esau*, here spoken of by St. *Paul*, was not an Hatred, which induced him to punish him with any Evil; for *Esau* was as happy in all the Blessings of this Life, as either *Abraham*, or *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, and his Posterity had a Land designed by God to be their Possession as well as the Children of *Jacob*, and they were enabled to drive out and dispossess the Inhabitants of it, as *Israel* did to the Land of his Possession (*i*); and they were put in Possession of it much sooner than the *Israelites*; and God was pleased to protect them in the Enjoyment of it, and to caution the *Israelites* against invading them with a remarkable Strictness (*k*), as he also cautioned them against invading the Land which he designed to give to the Children of *Lot* (*l*). And as God was pleased thus to bless *Esau* and his Children in the Blessings of this Life, even as much as he blessed *Abraham*, or *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more; so why may we not hope to find him with them at the last Day as well as *Job*, or *Lot*, or any other good

(*i*) Deut. ii. 5. & 12. (*k*) Ver. 4, 5. (*l*) Ver. 9.

and

nd virtuous Man, who was not deſign'd o be a Partaker of *the Bleſſing* given unto *Abraham*? For, 3. All the Puniſhment that was inflicted on *Eſau*, was an Excluſion from being Heir of *the Bleſſing* promiſed o *Abraham* and to *his Seed*, which was a Favour not granted to *Lot*, to *Job*, to ſeveral other very virtuous and good Men. 4. St. *Paul*, in the Paſſage before cited, does not intend to repreſent *Eſau* as a Perſon that had particularly merited God's Diſpleaſure, but to ſhew the *Jews*, that God had all along given the Favours that led o the *Meſſiah* where he pleaſed; to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Eſau*; as, at the time St. *Paul* wrote, the *Gentiles* were made the People of God, and not the *Jews*. 5. *Eſau* is indeed called prophane, [βέβηλος]; but I think that Word does not mean wicked or immoral [ἀσεβὴς or ἁμαρτωλὸς] *(m)*; he was called ſo for not having that due Value for the Prieſts Office which he ought to have had. In this Point there ſeems to have been a Defect in his Character; Hunting and ſuch Diverſions of Life were more pleaſing to him, than the Views and Proſpects which the Promiſes of God had opened to his Family, and which his Brother *Jacob* was more thoughtful about than he. And therefore, tho' I think it does not appear, that he was cut

(m) 1 Tim. i. 9.

off

off from being the Heir of them, by any particular Action in his Life, yet his Temper and Thoughts do appear to be ſuch, as to evidence, that God's Purpoſe towards *Jacob* was founded upon the trueſt Wiſdom; *Jacob* being in himſelf the fitteſt Perſon to be the Heir of the Mercies, which God deſigned him.

When *Joſeph* was ſold into the Family of *Potiphar*, he ſoon obtained himſelf a Station, in which he might have lived with great Comfort. His Maſter ſaw, that he was a Youth of great Wit and Diligence, and very proſperous in his Undertakings, and in a little time he made him his Steward (*n*), and put all his Affairs under his Management. When he was thus in a Condition of Life, in which he might have been very happy, his Miſtreſs fell in Love with him; but in the Integrity of his Heart he refuſed to comply with her Deſires, and took the Liberty to reprove her for them, and ſhunned all Opportunities of being at any time alone with her (*o*). Whether ſhe feared by his Manner and Behaviour that he might accuſe her to her Husband, or whether ſhe was enraged at the Slight ſhe thought hereby offered her, upon his peremptorily refuſing to comply with her, ſhe accuſed him to *Potiphar* of a Deſign to raviſh her, and had him laid in Priſon.

(*n*) Gen. xxxix. 4. (*o*) Ver. 8, 9, 10.

Joſeph

Joseph was kept in Prison above two Years, but he got into Favour with the Keeper of the Prison, and was intrusted by him with the Management of all the Affairs belonging to the Prison, and with the Custody of the Prisoners *(p)*. Two Years and something more after *Joseph*'s Imprisonment *(q)*, the King of *Egypt* dreamt two very remarkable Dreams, both which seemed to be of much the same Import: The King had a great Uneasiness about them, and the more, because none of his *Magi* could interpret, or tell him the Meaning of them. In the midst of his Perplexity his chief Butler or Cup-bearer called to mind, that himself had been some time before under the King's Displeasure, and in Prison with *Joseph*, and that *Joseph* had very punctually interpreted a Dream of his, and another of the King's Baker, who was in Prison with him *(r)*: He gave the King an Account of it, which occasioned *Joseph* to be sent for. *Joseph* came, and heard the King's Dreams, and told him the Meaning of them was, that there would be all over *Egypt*, first of all seven Years Plenty, and then a severe Famine for seven Years; and added, that since it had pleased God thus to inform the King what Seasons he intended, he hoped he would make a right use of the

(p) Gen. xxxix. 22, 23. (q) Chap. xli. 1.
(r) Ver. 9.

Information,

Information, and appoint ſome diſcreet and wiſe Perſon, with proper Officers under him, to gather a fifth Part of each plenteous Year's Product, and to lay it up in Store againſt the time of Scarcity. The King conceived a very great Opinion of *Joſeph*, both from his Interpretation of the Dreams, and from the Advice he gave upon them, and thought no one could be ſo fit to manage the Office of gathering the Corn in the Years of Plenty, as he who had ſo wiſely thought of a Scheme ſo beneficial, and therefore he immediately made him his Deputy over the Land of *Egypt* (*h*). *Joſeph* was, I think, above twenty Years old when his Brethren ſold him, and he was thirty when *Pharaoh* thus advanced him (*i*); ſo that it pleaſed God in leſs than ten Years to promote him, from a Lad, the younger Son of a private Traveller, through various Changes and Accidents of Life, by ſeveral Steps, and not without a Mixture of ſome ſevere Misfortunes, to be the Head of a very potent Kingdom, inferior only to him who wore the Crown. He wore the King's Ring, had all the Marks and Diſtinctions that belong to the higheſt Rank of Life; rode in *Pharaoh*'s ſecond Chariot, and where-ever he paſſed, the Officers appointed cry'd before

(*h*) Exod. xli. 38—41. (*i*) Ver. 46.

him

im, *Bow the Knee (k)*. *Pharaoh* called *oſeph Zaphnath-paaneah* (*l*), and married im to the Prieſt of *On*'s Daughter; he ad two Sons by her, *Manaſſeh* and *E-hraim* (*m*).

In the Years of Plenty *Joſeph* had ga-hered a ſufficient Stock of Corn, not for *Egypt* only, but to ſupply the neighbour-ng Countries: And in the Years of Fa-nine, when he opened his Stores, and ſold ut his Proviſion, he acquired for the ing immenſe Riches. The *Egyptians* ought his Corn with Money, until all he Money of the Land of *Egypt*, and all hat could be procured out of the Land f *Canaan*, was in *Pharaoh*'s Treaſury; hen they exchanged their Cattle for Corn, ntil *Pharaoh* had purchaſed all them alſo; n the laſt Place, they ſold their Lands and oſſeſſions, ſo that by *Joſeph*'s Conduct, *Pharaoh* was become ſole Proprietor of all he Money, Cattle, and Lands of all *E-ypt* (*n*). There are two or three Parti-ulars very remarkable in *Joſeph*'s Ma-

(*k*) Gen. xli. 41 —— 44. *The beſt Expoſitors do not take the ord* Abrek, *to ſignify Bow the Knee, as our Tranſlation renders it; at they ſuppoſe it to be a Name of Honour, which* Pharaoh *cauſed be proclaimed before* Joſeph. See Verſ. LXX. Targum Onkelos. erſ. Samaritan. Verſ. Syriac. Verſ. Arab. & Caſtelli Lexicon ep'ag'otton, in Verb. ברך. Abrek, Vox Ægyptia eſt Παιανισ-ας quidam. See Pool. Synopſis in loc.

(*l*) *The Name which* Pharaoh *gave* Joſeph *is an* Egyptian *Name, nd ſignifies a Diſcoverer of things hidden.* (*m*) Ver. 51.

(*n*) Gen. xlvii. 18.

nagement

nagement of this Affair. 1. When the *Egyptians* had parted with all their Money, Cattle and Lands, and ſtill wanted Suſtenance, they offered to become *Pharaoh's* Servants *(o)*, but *Joſeph* refuſed to accept of this Offer. He ſeems to have had a great and true Inſight into things, and could not think, that he ſhould really advance his Maſter's Intereſt by keeping his Subjects in Poverty and Slavery. He was deſirous to eſtabliſh a ſufficient Revenue for the Occaſions of the Crown, and at the ſame time to give the Subject a Property of their own, as well to excite their Induſtry to improve it, as to raiſe in them a ſenſe of Duty and Affection to the Government that protected them in the ſecure Enjoyment of it. For this Reaſon *Joſeph* return'd back Poſſeſſions to all the People, upon Condition of paying yearly the fifth Part of the Product of their Lands to the King for ever *(p)*. 2. When he returned the Lands back again to the People, he did not put them in Poſſeſſion each Man of what was his own before, but he removed them from one end of *Egypt* to the other *(q)*; wiſely foreſeeing, that few Men would have ſo eaſy ſenſe of their Condition in the Enjoyment of what had formerly been their own without Tax or Burthen, but now

(o) Gen. xlvii. 19. (p) Ver. 24. 26. (q) Ver. 21.

receive

received upon Terms of Diſadvantage; as they would have in the Poſſeſſion of what never was their own, tho' they held it upon the ſame Conditions. 3. When *Joſeph* bought in the Lands of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, he bought not the Prieſts Lands, for they did eat their Portion which *Pharaoh* gave them, and therefore ſold not their Lands; and ſo, when afterwards the whole Kingdom came to be taxed the fifth Part, the Prieſts Lands were excepted, becauſe they became not *Pharaoh*'s (*r*). A Right Honourable Writer makes the following Remark upon this Favour ſhewn the Prieſts: "To what Height of Power the eſtabliſh'd "Prieſthood was arrived even at that "time, may be conjectured hence; That "*the Crown* (to ſpeak in a modern Style) "offered not to meddle with the *Church-*"*Lands*; and that, in this great Revoluti-"on, nothing was attempted ſo much as "by way of Purchaſe or Exchange in "Prejudice of this Landed Clergy; the "Prime Miniſter himſelf having joined his "Intereſt with theirs, and entered by Mar-"riage into this Alliance." (*s*) To this I anſwer: 1. I have already ſhewn, That the Prieſts of *Egypt* were the Heads of all the Families of the Land, not raiſed to be ſo by their Prieſthood, but they became

(*r*) Gen. xlvii. 22. & 26.

(*s*) *Ld* Shaftsbury's *Charact. Hiſt.* Vol. 3. Miſcel. 1.

the

the Prieſts, becauſe they were originally Perſons of the higheſt Rank: they were reputed almoſt equal to the Kings, conſulted upon all public Affairs of Conſequence, and ſome one of them generally upon a Vacancy ſucceeded to the Crown; and if this be true, it does not ſeem likely that they ſhould want *Joſeph*'s Alliance to ſtrengthen their Intereſt, or to obtain them any Favour. 2. Whatever Favour was ſhewn them, *Moſes* repreſents it as proceeding from the King, and not from *Joſeph*: The Land of the Prieſts bought he not, [*ci chok le cohanim meeth Paraoh*] *becauſe there was a Decree for* (in favour of) *the Prieſts from even Pharaoh* (*t*), *i. e.* becauſe *Pharaoh* had made a Decree expreſsly againſt it; or we may tranſlate the Words agreeably to our *Engliſh* Verſion, *becauſe there was an Appointment for the Prieſts from even Pharaoh, and they did eat their appointed* or aſſigned *Portion which Pharaoh gave them, wherefore they ſold not their Lands:* take the Words either way, the Favour to the Prieſts proceeded from *Pharaoh*. It may perhaps be here asked, why *Pharaoh*, when he thought fit to leſſen the Property of his common Subjects, did not alſo attempt to reduce in ſome meaſure the exorbitant Wealth of the Prieſts, who, according to

(*t*) Gen. xlvii. 22.

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus (*u*), were poſſeſſed of a third Part of the whole Land. To this we may anſwer: The *Egyptian* Prieſts were obliged to provide all Sacrifices, and to bear all the Charges of the national Religion; and Religion was in theſe Days a matter of very great Expence to them, who were to ſupply what was requiſite for the Performance of the Offices of it. The numerous Sacrifices, that were appointed to be offered in theſe times, could not be provided, nor the Preparations and Ceremonies in offering them performed, but at a very great Charge; at ſo great an one, that we find in Countries, where the Soil was not fruitful, and conſequently the People poor, they did not well know how to bear the Burthen of Religion; and therefore *Lycurgus*, when he reformed the *Lacedemonian* State, inſtituted Sacrifices the meaneſt and cheapeſt he could think of, that he might not make Religion too Expenſive for his People (*w*): *Egypt* was a fertile and rich Country, and moſt probably both King and People were deſirous of having the public Religion appear with a ſuitable Splendor: And I do not find that even *Ariſtotle* could compute, that leſs than a fourth Part of the Lands of his Republic could ſuffice for theſe Uſes (*x*); and

(*u*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 66. (*w*) Plutarch. in vit. Lycurgi. (*x*) Ariſtot. de republic. l. 7. c. 10.

ſuppoſe we ſhould allow them no more in *Egypt*, yet there would ſtill remain a Difficulty; for the Prieſts of *Egypt* were the whole Body of the Nobility of the Land. They were the King's Counſellors and Aſſiſtants in all Affairs that concerned the public; they were joint Agents with him [συνεργοὶ (*y*)] in ſome things; in ſome others the King himſelf was to be directed and inſtructed by them, in theſe they are ſaid to be his εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι (*z*). They were the Profeſſors and Cultivators of Aſtronomy, an uſeful Science at this time, without which even *Agriculture* itſelf could not have proceeded. They were the Keepers of the public Regiſters, Memoirs and Chronicles of the Kingdom; in a word, under the King, they were the Magiſtrates, and filled all the Prime Offices (*a*): And if we conſider them in ſome or other of theſe Views, we may poſſibly allow that *Pharaoh* might think that they had not too much to ſupport the Stations they were to act in, and for that Reaſon, he ordered that no Tax ſhould be raiſed upon them.

As there came many Perſons of the neighbouring Nations to *Egypt* to buy Corn; ſo amongſt others *Jacob* was obliged to ſend his Sons from *Canaan* (*b*)

(*y*) Diodor. Sic. ubi ſup. (*z*) Id. ibid. (*a*) Δεύτερον τῶν μετὰ Βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. Id. ibid. (*b*) Gen. xlii.

Joſeph

Joseph, as soon as he saw them, knew them, and upon their bowing down before him, he remembred his former Dreams. He for some time kept himself very reserved, pretended to suspect them for Spies, and several ways seem'd to use them with an exceeding Strictness, so as to make them think themselves in great Extremities: At last he discovered himself to them, sent for his Father down to *Egypt*, and obtained for him and his Family a Residence in the Land of *Goshen*. Here they lived and flourished in Favour with the King, and with the *Egyptians*, for *Joseph*'s Sake. (*c*). *Jacob* came into *Egypt A. M.* 2298, for he was 130 Years old when he came into *Pharaoh*'s Presence (*d*); and he was born *A. M.* 2168 (*e*), so that counting 130 Years from the Year of his Birth, we shall come to the Year abovementioned. I may here take occasion to fix the Chronology of the several Transactions we have passed over. 1. *Joseph* was about 38 Years old at the Beginning of the Famine; for he was thirty when he was first brought into *Pharaoh*'s Presence just at the Beginning of the seven Years of Plenty (*f*): he was 38, two or three Years before his Father came to *Egypt*; for he revealed himself to his Brethren, and sent for his Father at the

(*c*) Gen. xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii. (*d*) Chap. xlvii. 9. (*e*) See p 133. (*f*) Gen. xli. 46.

End of the ſecond Year's Famine (*g*); ſo that he was 38 about *A. M.* 2295, and conſequently *Joſeph* was born *A. M.* 2257. 2. *Joſeph*'s Birth was ſix Years before *Jacob* left *Laban*; for *Jacob* ſerved *Laban* in all twenty Years (*h*), and fourteen of the twenty Years were over at *Joſeph*'s Birth (*i*), the time being then expired which *Jacob* was to ſerve *Laban* for his Wives; ſo that *Jacob* left *Laban A. M.* 2263, and *Jacob* came to *Laban A. M.* 2243. *Jacob* married ſeven Years after he came to *Laban* (*k*) i. e. *A. M.* 2250; and thus *Jacob* being born *A. M.* 2168, was about 75 Years old when he firſt came to *Laban*, and 89 at *Joſeph*'s Birth. We are not exactly informed when *Benjamin* was born, when *Rachel* died, or when *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, but we may conjecture very nearly; for *Joſeph* was 17 Years old when he was feeding his Father's Flock with the Sons of *Bilhah* (*l*): *Benjamin* was not then born; for *Joſeph* was at that time *the Son of his Father's old Age*, or youngeſt Son (*m*); and *Rachel*, who died in Labour of *Benjamin*, was alive when *Joſeph* dream'd his Dreams, for which his Brethren hated him (*n*). *Rachel* died and *Benjamin* was born near *Ephrath* (*o*), before *Jacob* came

(*g*) Gen. xlv. 6. (*h*) Gen. xxxi. 38. (*i*) Chap. xxix. 25, 26. (*k*) Chap. xxix. 20, 21. (*l*) Chap. xxxvii. 2. (*m*) Ver. 3. (*n*) Ver. 10. (*o*) Chap. xxxv. 16—19.

Iſaac at *Hebron*: *Jacob* did not go directly to *Hebron* as ſoon as *Rachel* was buried; but made ſome Stop at *Edar* (*p*): *Jacob* was come to *Hebron*, and ſent *Joſeph* thence back to his Brethren, when they took him and ſold him into *Ægypt* (*q*): From theſe ſeveral Particulars it ſeems moſt probable, that *Benjamin* was born, and *Rachel* died, when *Joſeph* was about ſixteen, *A. M.* 2273, for he was but ſeventeen when he told his Father of the evil Actions of his Brothers at *Edar* (*r*), where *Jacob* lived after *Rachel* died (*ſ*). *Jacob* might come to *Hebron* in about five or ſix Years after this, and ſoon after his coming thither *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt*, *i. e.* when he was about twenty two Years old, about nine Years before the Death of *Iſaac*, *A. M.* 2279.

Seventeen (*t*) Years after *Jacob* came into *Egypt* he fell ſick and died. *Jacob* was a Perſon in every Reſpect very conſiderable: His Capacity was great, his natural Parts quick and ready, and the Revelations which God was pleaſed to make him were very many, and very remarkable:

(*p*) Gen. xxxv. 21, 22. (*q*) xxxvii. 14. (*r*) Ver. 2. (*ſ*) Demetrius *in* Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 21. *ſays that* Rachel *died when ſhe had lived with* Jacob *twenty three Years*: Jacob *married* Rachel *when he had been with* Laban *a Week more than ſeven Years*, i.e. A. M. 2250. *According to our Computation* Rachel *died twenty three Years after this, ſo that we agree exactly with* Demetrius. (*t*) Gen. xlvii. 28.

It was an Argument of his being a Perſon of great Prudence and Sagacity, that he ſo much prized the Privileges of *Eſau*'s Birth-right: and in every turn of his Life, (in his conduct with *Laban*; in his Addreſs to his Brother *Eſau*; in his Senſe of his Sons Revenge upon the *Sichemites*,) he expreſſed himſelf a Man of a quick and ready Apprehenſion, to foreſee the Evils that might befall him, and of great Courage and Prudence to ſhape himſelf the beſt way through them. The Life of *Iſaac* ſeems to have been the Life of a plain and virtuous honeſt Man, without any great Variety or very extraordinary Turns in it: He had a vaſt Subſtance left him by his Father *Abraham* to carry him through the World, and he liv'd upon it all his Life almoſt always in or near the ſame Place: *Abraham* died at *Mamre*, and there *Iſaac* liv'd and died, and we do not find he liv'd any where elſe, except only when a Famine oblig'd him to remove to *Gerar* (*u*); and *Gerar* was ſo near to *Mamre*, that we may affirm, that he ſpent his whole Life within about the Compaſs of a hundred or a hundred and twenty Miles: But *Jacob* was born to greater things, and deſigned to be more known to the World: He had no great Subſtance left him from his Father, but was to riſe by his own In-

(*u*) Gen. xxvi.

duſtry

dustry and God's Blessing: He was sent into *Padan-Aram* to obtain himself a Wife, and by his Diligence to make a Provision for his Family, which he was enabled to do in twenty Years in so ample a manner, as to live afterwards in Credit and Reputation with the Princes of his Age (*x*); nay, and to have even those of this Rank stand in fear of attempting to offer him any Injury. Towards the close of his Life God was pleased to strip him of, what I might call, all his adventitious Happiness, and to leave him only his Children and a few Necessaries; for we find the Pressure of the Famine had dispersed his numerous Family; for he did not go down to *Egypt* Master of two bands of Followers (*y*), nor possessed of his *Sichemitish* Captives, but he brought thither with him, besides his Sons Wives, only sixty six Persons, being his Children and Grand-children, with the Cattle and Goods which he then had (*z*); but even then, by the influence of his Son *Joseph*, he was receiv'd in *Egypt* with Credit and Respect, and admitted into the King's Presence as a Person of great Worth and Eminence; for it is particularly remark'd that he blessed *Pharaoh* (*a*). As the Turns of *Jacob*'s Life were thus great and

(*x*) Gen. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv. 5. (*y*) *So numerous was his family when he left* Haran. Chap. xxxii. 7. (*z*) Chap. xlvi. 6. (*a*) Chap. xlvii. 10.

many; ſo he had very frequent and remarkable Revelations to ſupport and guide him in his Paſſage thro' them: We have no mention of any Revelations to *Iſaac* above twice or thrice in his whole Life, and indeed the Circumſtances of his Life required no more; but with *Jacob* God was pleas'd to converſe more frequently, and to give him a fuller Knowledge of the manner in which he deſign'd to deal with his Poſterity. When *Iſaac* purpos'd to diſpoſe of the Bleſſing promiſed to *Abraham*, it is very evident that he did not know how God intended it ſhould be given; for he purpoſed to have diſpoſed of it to the Perſon, who was not to be the Heir of it (*b*): He did indeed by the Contrivance of *Rebekah* happen to give it right, and when he had given it, God was pleas'd to enlig ten his Underſtanding, and in ſome ſmall meaſure to inform him what ſhould be the Circumſtances of his Sons and their Poſterity; but *Jacob*, when he came to draw towards his End, had a much greater Share of this Prophetical Knowledge imparted to him: He was enabled with great Exactneſs to enter into the Circumſtances of the Lives of *Joſeph*'s Sons (*c*) and when he came to tell his Children what ſhould befall them in the latter Days (*d*), he could offer the Hints of many Things

(*b*) Gen. xxvii. (*c*) Chap. xlviii. 10—22. (*d*) Chap. xlix.

tha

that belong'd particularly to the Families of each of his Children; as may be beſt ſeen hereafter, when we ſhall remark in their proper Places how the Things foretold by him were fulfill'd to their Poſterity. As the Life of *Jacob* was more remarkable and various than the Life of his Father *Iſaac*; ſo we find larger Accounts of it amongſt the Heathen Writers. We find but little mention of *Iſaac* any where but in the ſacred Writings, ſo little, that ſome of the Heathen Hiſtorians, who enquired after the Accounts of *Abraham*'s Family, did not know there was ſuch a Perſon as *Iſaac*; but took *Jacob* or *Iſrael* to be the Son of *Abraham* (*a*); But *Jacob*'s Life was celebrated by many of their ancient Writers: *Euſebius* (*b*) gives a large Account of the Life of *Jacob*, which he took from *Demetrius*, and *Demetrius* had it from the Annals of *Alexander Polyhiſtor* (*c*): The Account agrees in the main with that of *Moſes*; but in little Particulars differs remarkably from it: *Demetrius* fixes the Dates and Times of many Tranſactions in *Jacob*'s Life, which *Moſes* has not determined, and he fixes ſome in a manner which will not exactly agree with ſome other of *Moſes*'s Computations; which ſeems to me to evidence, that he

(*a*) Juſtin *from* Trogus Pompeius lib. 36. c. 2. (*b*) Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 21. (*c*) Id. ibid. ad fin. cap.

did

did not copy from *Moſes*, as indeed there was no need he ſhould; for the ancient Hiſtory even of theſe early Times was written by various Writers (*d*), who differ'd in ſome Circumſtances from one another, and therefore took their Hints from different Originals, and amongſt the reſt a very large mention was made of *Jacob* by *Theodotus* a very ancient Hiſtorian, who wrote the *Phœnician* Antiquities (*e*), and whoſe works *Chætus* tranſlated into *Greek*, a Part of which Tranſlation relating to *Jacob* is preſerv'd in *Euſebius* (*f*): *Jacob* was a hundred and forty ſeven Years old when he died, and ſo died *A. M.* 2315.

When *Jacob* was dead, *Joſeph* order'd the Phyſicians of *Egypt* to embalm him, the Performance of which Ceremony with the Circumſtances belonging to it took up forty Days (*g*), and the *Egyptians* had a ſolemn or publick mourning for him for ſeventy Days (*h*); a Circumſtance expreſſing the greateſt Honour they could poſſibly pay to *Joſeph* and his Family, for they perform'd but ſeventy two Days mourning for their Kings (*i*). After the time of this Mourning was over, *Joſeph* obtain'd Leave of *Pharaoh* to go into *Canaan* to bury his Father, and the prime Officers of the Court

(*d*) Joſephus cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 1350. (*e*) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 128. & Joſeph. ub. ſup. (*f*) Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 22. (*g*) Gen. l. 3. (*h*) Ibid. (*i*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1. p. 46.

of

of *Egypt* went with him to attend the Funeral; ſo that there went out of *Egypt*, the Houſe of *Joſeph* and his Brethren, and his Father's Houſe, the Servants of *Pharaoh*, and the Elders of his Houſe, and all the Elders of the Land of *Egypt*, both Chariots and Horſemen a very great Company (*k*): The Proceſſion was ſo great, and the ſolemn Stop they made for ſeven Days upon the Borders of *Canaan* was ſo remarkable, that the *Canaanites* ever after called the Place they ſtopp'd at *Abel-mizraim*, or the Mourning-place of the *Egyptians*. *Jacob* was buried in the Cave of *Machpelah* by *Abraham* and *Sarah*, and *Joſeph* and his Brethren and the *Egyptians* returned back again to *Egypt*.

After *Jacob* was buried, *Joſeph*'s Brethren began to reflect upon the ill Treatment which *Joſeph* had formerly receiv'd from them, and to fear that now their Father was gone, he would remember and revenge it: They came to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, acknowledged all their former Unkindneſs to him, begg'd he would paſs it over and forgive it, and offer'd themſelves and Children at his Feet to be his Servants; and not thinking all this enough, they were willing to add Weight to their Entreaties by telling him, that their Father before he died required them thus

(*k*) Gen. l. 8, 9.

to

to ask him Pardon and Forgiveneſs. *Joſeph* could not keep from Tears at their Behaviour: He made a kind and tender Apology for them, obſerv'd to them how much Happineſs God had produced from their little Animoſities, and promiſed them his Favour and Protection as long as he ſhould live (*l*).

We meet with nothing more of *Joſeph* or his Management: The King that advanced him was, I think, *Thuſimares*, who was the twentieth King of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, according to Sir *John Marſham*, and *Joſeph* was advanced in the thirteenth Year of *Thuſimares*'s Reign. Sir *John Marſham* places the Advancement of *Joſeph* in the time of *Rameſſe-Tubaete* the twenty third King of *Tanis*, but this Poſition of him will appear to be too late: *Joſeph* was ſold into *Egypt A. M.* 2279, and if we compute the Reigns of Sir *John Marſham*'s Kings of *Egypt*, ſuppoſing *Mizraim* firſt to reign there *A. M.* 1772, and to die *A. M.* 1943 (*m*), we muſt place *Joſeph* about the Time of the twelfth King of *Tanis*, in *Achoreus*'s Reign; but this will be much too high, and there are certainly Miſtakes in this Part of Sir *John Marſham*'s Tables. *Moſes* hints to us, that *Joſeph* placed his Brethren in the Land of *Rameſes* (*n*); the Land could not be ſo

(*l*) Gen. l. 15 --- 21. (*m*) *See Vol.* I. *Book* IV. (*n*) Gen. xlvii. 11.

called

called, until there had been ſuch a Perſon as *Rameſes*; for the ancient Practice was, after Kings or famous Men were dead, to *call the Lands after their Names* (*q*). Thus the Land of *Haran* was not ſo named until after *Haran* was dead (*r*). *Rameſes* therefore, who according to Sir *John Marſham* was the eighteenth King of *Tanis*, and began to reign a hundred and forty five Years after *Achoreus*, was dead, and ſome Part of the Land of *Goſhen*, where *Joſeph* placed his Brethren, was called after his Name, before *Joſeph* brought his Brethren into *Egypt*; and this will well agree to my placing *Joſeph* in the Reign of *Thuſimares*, who was the ſecond King after *Rameſes* (*ſ*). *Thuſimares* reigned thirty one Years (*t*), and if *Joſeph* was advanced in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, *Thuſimares* died ſixty two Years before *Joſeph*; for *Joſeph* was thirty Years old when *Pharaoh* advanced him (*u*), and he lived to be a hundred and ten Years old (*w*), ſo that he lived eighty Years after his Advancement. And according to Sir *John Marſham*'s Account of the Lengths of the Reigns of *Thuſimares*'s Succeſſors, *Joſeph* lived to ſerve three of them, and died in the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Rameſſe-Tubaete*. So that he

(*q*) Pſalm. xlix 11. (*r*) Gen. xi. 31. (*ſ*) *See* Sir John Marſham. Can. Chron. (*t*) Id. ibid. (*u*) Gen. xli. 46. (*w*) Ch. l 22.

ſup-

ſupported his Credit with four Kings; an Inſtance of the Stability of Courts in theſe Times. He was highly eſteemed by the Princes, and univerſally beloved by all the People: He had advanced the Crown of *Egypt* to a ſtate of Wealth and Grandeur, which until his Time it had been a Stranger to, and had acquired the King a Property greater perhaps than any King in the World at that Time enjoyed, and eſtabliſhed upon a better Foundation; for he had obliged the Subjects of the Land, in the manner by which he acquired it, as much as he had advanced *Pharaoh* by the Acquiſition of it, and was in truth what he ſtyled himſelf, a Father not only to *Pharaoh* (*x*), but to every one of his Subjects alſo; for by his Care and Proviſion, the whole Land was preſerved from becoming deſolate, and every one of the Inhabitants preſerved from periſhing. *Joſeph* lived to ſee his Grand-children grown up to be Men (*y*), and then he called his Brethren together, and aſſured them, that God would in due Time bring them out of *Egypt* into the Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*, and made them ſwear to him, that when they ſhould go out of *Egypt* they would carry away his Bones with them. *Joſeph* died fifty two Years after his Father, *A. M.* 2367.

(*x*) Gen. xlv. 8. (*y*) Chap. l. 22, 23.

The

The Children of *Iſrael*, or Family of *Jacob*, when they came into *Egypt*, were about ſeventy Perſons: *Jacob* and his Children that came with him were in number ſixty ſeven, and *Joſeph* and his two Sons make up the number ſeventy; but beſides theſe, *Jacob*'s Sons Wives came alſo with them (*z*). There are ſome Difficulties in *Moſes*'s Catalogues of *Jacob*'s Children. We have one Catalogue in Chap. xxxv. and another in Chap. xlvi: In the xxxvth Chap. we are told the Sons of *Jacob* were twelve, and after a particular Enumeration of them it is ſaid, *Theſe are the Sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-Aram.* Now it is evident that all theſe Sons were not born in *Padan-Aram*, for *Benjamin* was born near *Ephrath* in *Canaan* (*a*). Some Writers have remarked, that the Expreſſion of the *Hebrew* is, *which were begat by him in* Padan-Aram, and they imagine that *Rachel* was with child of *Benjamin*, when *Jacob* left *Laban*, and that this was what *Moſes* intended in this Paſſage: But this cannot be allowed; for if the *Hebrew* Words may poſſibly bear that Senſe (*b*), yet *Jacob* after he came from *Haran* lived at *Sichem* and bought Land there, and afterwards lived at *Bethel*, and removed thence be-

(*z*) Gen. xlvi. 26. (*a*) Chap. xxxv. 16--18. (*b*) *The* Hebrew *Words are* אלה בני יעקב אשר ילדו לו בפדן ארם

fore

fore *Benjamin* was born; ſo that ſeveral Years paſſed between *Jacob*'s leaving *Padan-Aram*, and the Birth of *Benjamin*. I have computed at leaſt ten Years (*c*), ſo that *Rachel* could not be with Child of him in *Padan-Aram*. Other Commentators (*d*) think the Paſſage to be a *Synecdoche*; but ſurely this Pretence is very idle: We muſt have an odd Notion of *Moſes*'s Eloquence to imagine that he had a mind to diſplay it in giving us the Names of *Jacob*'s twelve Sons, and a ſtill more ſurprizing Notion of Rhetoric, to make ſuch a Paſſage as this a Figure of Speech, which looks ten times more like a Miſtake than a *Synecdoche*. I ſhould think it certain that *Moſes* did not write the Words *in Padan-Aram* in this Place; but that he ended his Period with the Words *which were born to him*; but that ſome careleſs or injudicious Tranſcriber, finding the Words *in Padan-Aram* in *Gen.* xlvi. 15. might add them here alſo, and be led into the Miſtake by conſidering, that he had twelve Children born there, which is indeed true, but eleven of them only were Sons, one of his Children born in *Padan-Aram*, namely *Dinah*, was a Daughter. In the Catalogue in *Geneſis* xlvi. there ſeems to be a Deficiency: *Moſes* begins it, *Theſe are the Names of the Children of Iſrael*,

(*c*) *See* p. 212, 213. (*d*) Vid. Pool Synop. in loc.

which

which came into Egypt, Jacob and his Sons: Reuben his firſt born (r); but then he does not add the Names of *Jacob*'s other Sons which he had by *Leah* and *Zilpah*, nor of thoſe which he had by *Bilhah*; and if we caſt up the Number of Names which are now given us, they will fall ſhort of the Number which *Moſes* computes them to be *(ſ)*, by all the Names thus omitted: I cannot but think therefore, that all theſe Names of *Jacob*'s Sons were inſerted by *Moſes*; but have been dropt by the Careleſſneſs of Tranſcribers: The Accounts of each Family might be begun by *Moſes*, as the firſt is. *Reuben, Jacob's firſt born, and the Sons of Reuben:* So *Moſes* moſt probably wrote: *Simeon*, and the Sons of *Simeon (t)*: *Levi*, and the Sons of *Levi (u)*: *Judah*, and the Sons of *Judah (w)*; and ſo in the Accounts of all the reſt; and the ſame Word being repeated might be eaſily dropt by an haſty Writer: and it is very evident, that the Tranſcribers have been careleſs in theſe Catalogues; for the Children of *Leah* are ſaid by miſtake to be thirty three *(x)*, whereas there are but thirty two, and without doubt *Moſes* computed them no more than thirty two; for he makes the whole Number of the Children of *Jacob* that came with him into *Egypt* to be ſixty ſix *(y)*,

(r) Gen. xlvi. 8. (ſ) Ver. 26. (t) Ver. 10. (u) Ver. 11. (w) Ver. 12. (x) Ver. 15. (y) Ver. 26.

and thirty two Children of *Leah*, ſixteen of *Zilpah*, eleven of *Rachel* (without *Joſeph* and his two Sons) and ſeven by *Bilhah*, make up exactly the Number. If the Children of *Leah* had been thirty three, the Number that came with *Jacob* into *Egypt* muſt have been ſixty ſeven, as may be ſeen by any one that will put together the ſeveral Perſons named in the Catalogue. *All the Souls of the Houſe of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threeſcore and ten (z)*; *i. e.* ſixty ſix as above mentioned, and *Jacob* himſelf, and *Joſeph*, and *Joſeph*'s two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*; and thus many they are always computed to be in all places where they are mentioned in Scripture (*a*). The LXX indeed ſuppoſe, that there were ſeventy five of *Jacob*'s Family in *Egypt*, when he was come thither. They render the latter Part of the 27th Verſe, *All the Souls of the Houſe of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were* ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, i. e. *Seventy five.* And thus they number them, *Exodus* Chap. i. ver. 5. and the Number is the ſame in St. *Stephen*'s Speech (*b*), where they are ſaid to be *threeſcore and fifteen Souls.* As to the *Septuagint*, it is evident how we come to find the Number ſeventy five inſtead of ſeventy in *Gen.* xlvi. 27. for,

(z) Gen. xlvi. 27. (*a*) Exodus i. 5. Deut. x. 22.
(*b*) Acts vii. 14.

1. In

1. In our preſent Copies of the *Septuagint*, there is a very large Interpolation, of which not one Word is to be found in any *Hebrew* Copy. The LXX give us the 20th Verſe of this Chapter thus: *And there were Sons born unto Joſeph in the Land of Egypt, which Aſenath the Daughter of Potipherah Prieſt of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manaſſeh and Ephraim.* After theſe Words they add, *And there were born Sons unto Manaſſeh, which Syra his Concubine bare unto him, Machir, and Machir begat Galaad; and the Sons of Ephraim the Brother of Manaſſeh were Sutalam and Taam, and the Sons of Sutalam were Edom:* And thus our preſent Editions of the *Septuagint* compute ſeventy five Perſons inſtead of ſeventy, by taking into the Account five Sons and Grandſons of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, which are not in the *Hebrew:* But, 2. theſe five Perſons were evidently not put into this Catalogue by *Moſes*; for the Deſign of this Catalogue was to give the Names of the Perſons of *Jacob*'s Family, who came with him into *Egypt*, or who were there at the Time when he came thither; but *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* could have no Children born at this Time, and therefore their Childrens Names cannot be ſuppoſed to be inſerted by *Moſes* in this Place: *Joſeph* was about thirty Years old when he married (*c*), and

(*c*) Gen. xli. 45, 46.

he was about forty or forty one when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*; so that *Manasseh*, who was his elder Son, could not be much above ten Years old, and therefore it is an evident Mistake in our present *Septuagint* Copies to insert *Joseph*'s Grand-children, and their Children, in this Place. 3. It is not very difficult to guess how these Additions were made to the LXX. I call them Additions, for no one can imagine, that the first Translators of the *Hebrew* Bible into *Greek*, could so palpably and erroneously deviate from the Original. The Owners of ancient Manuscripts used frequently to make marginal References, Observations or Notes in their Manuscripts, and very probably some learned Person might collect from *Numbers* xxvi. and 1 *Chronic.* vii. that *Manasseh* and *Ephraim* had these Sons and Grandsons, and remark it in the Margin of his Manuscript Septuagint, and some Transcribers from that Manuscript might mistake the Design; think it put there as an Omission of the Copyist, and so take it into the Text; and by degrees, this Accident happening very early when there were but few Copies of the LXX taken, all subsequent Transcripts came to be corrupted by it. 4. As to the 14th Verse of Chap. vii. of the *Acts*, I cannot conceive that St. *Luke* wrote *threescore and fifteen Souls*; but it being pretty certain, that

that Tranſcribers in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity did ſometimes make ſuch ſmall Alterations as theſe to make the new *Teſtament* accord with the Copies they then had of the LXX Bible (the LXX being more read by the Chriſtians of the firſt Ages, than the *Hebrew* Scriptures) it ſeems moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they finding 75 and not 70 in the xlvith Chapter of *Geneſis*, and *Exodus* i, might alter the ancient reading of this Paſſage in St. *Stephen*'s Speech, to make it accord with the LXX in the Places referr'd to. 5. That the Number 75 inſtead of 70 came into the *Septuagint* Copies in the manner above-mentioned, might be confirmed from *Joſephus*, who computes but 70 of *Jacob*'s Family in *Egypt* at this Time, agreeing with the *Hebrew* (*d*), and perhaps even from the LXX *Tranſlation* it ſelf; for that very Tranſlation ſays in another Place expreſly, that they were but 70 Perſons (*e*), agreeing fully with the *Hebrew*, which may hint to us that the true ancient Reading of the LXX it ſelf was 70 and not 75. There is one Difficulty more which ought not to be paſſed over: In *Geneſis* xlvi. 12. we are told, that *Er and Onan*, the Sons

(*d*) Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 7. Ita in omnibus Joſephi Exemplaribus tum hic, tum c. 9. §. 3. nec aliter ejus Exſcriptores, Comeſtor, Epitomator Cantuar. aliique. Hudſon. not. in loc.

(*e*) Deut. x. 22. *It muſt be acknowledged, that the* Alexandrian *Manuſcript has in this Place* ἐξ δομήκοντα πέντε. *the Word* πέντε *ought be inſerted to correct a ſuppoſed Fault of other Manuſcripts.*

of *Judah died in the Land of Canaan*, and *Hezron* and *Hamul*, Sons of *Pharez*, are inſerted in the Catalogue of *Jacob*'s Family that came with him into *Egypt*. *Jacob* married about *A. M.* 2250. *Judah* was *Jacob*'s fourth Son, and might be born about *A. M.* 2254. *Jacob* came into *Egypt* *A. M.* 2298, ſo that *Judah* was at this Time about forty four Years of Age; but if he was no older, how could *Hezron* and *Hamul*, *Judah*'s Grand-children by his Son *Pharez*, be born at this Time? We cannot ſuppoſe that *Judah* married *Shuah* (*f*) before he was twenty, we cannot well ſuppoſe it ſo early; he muſt be at leaſt twenty one, when his Son *Er* was born, about twenty two at *Onan*'s Birth, and twenty three at the Birth of *Shelah* (*g*); and if he took a Wife for his Son *Er*, when *Er* was ſeventeen, then *Judah* was thirty eight when *Er* married. *Er* died ſoon after he married, and *Onan* took his Wife, and *Onan* died alſo, and *Judah* deſired *Tamar* his Daughter in-Law to remain a Widow until *Shelah* his Son ſhould be grown (*h*). *Tamar* did ſo; but when *Shelah* was grown and ſhe was not given unto him to Wife, *Tamar* dreſſed her ſelf like an Harlot, and *Judah*, not knowing her to be his Daughter-in-law, lay with her, and ſhe had two Children by him, *Pharez* and *Zarah* (*i*).

(*f*) Gen. xxxviii. 2. (*g*) Ver. 3, 4, 5. (*h*) See Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. (*i*) Ver. 14—30.

Judah could not be less than forty one or forty two when he lay with *Tamar*, and *Pharez* could not be above two or three Years old, when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*; so that it is impossible that *Pharez* should have any Children born at this Time. The most learned Archbishop *Usher* seems to think that *Jacob* married, and consequently that *Judah* was born, earlier than I have supposed. He intimates from *Gen* xxix. 21. that *Jacob* might perhaps marry soon after he came to *Laban*; but the Place cited does surely prove that he served *Laban* seven Years, and then said, *Give me my Wife, for my Days are fulfilled, i. e.* the Time is now expired which I agreed to serve for her *(k)*; but if we should even suppose that *Jacob* married when he first enter'd *Laban*'s Service, this will help us but to seven Years, and can make *Pharez* not above ten Years old when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*, so that *Pharez* still could have no Children at this Time. It must be confess'd that all the Versions agree exactly in this Verse, and it appears to be Fact that *Er* and *Onan* died in *Canaan* (*l*). Mistakes in Numbers are easily made by even careful Transcribers: I am not sensible that it is of any moment to suppose, that *Jacob* and his Descendants when they came into *Egypt* were exactly seventy: Why may

(*k*) Gen. xxix. *See* Ver. 20, 21. (*l*) Chap. xxxviii.

we not ſuppoſe that *Moſes* computed them but threeſcore and eight, and that the Number *ten* is a Corruption of the Text, and the Names *Hezron* and *Hamul* the Sons of *Pharez* an Interpolation? If I may not take the Liberty to make this Correction of the Text, I muſt freely acknowledge that I do not ſee how to clear the Difficulty I have mentioned; but muſt leave it to the (*m*) Learned, as I do entirely ſubmit to them, what I have attempted to conjecture about it. The Children of *Iſrael* flouriſhed in *Egypt* and were protected and favoured by the Kings of it for *Joſeph*'s ſake, until the Government of *Egypt* was overthrown in the following manner.

In the fifth Year of *Concharis*, whom *Joſephus* from *Manetho* calls *Timæus* (*n*),

(*m*) *I ought not to omit taking notice, that the moſt learned Archbiſhop* Uſher *has left ſomething in a poſthumous Work of his, which may perhaps be thought to ſolve this Difficulty. This moſt learned Writer ſuppoſes* Judah *to have been born* A. M. 2247, *to have married when nineteen Years old,* A. M. 2266, *that his Son* Er *was born within that Year, that* Onan *was born,* A. M. 2267, Shelah 2268, *that* Er *married when he was fifteen,* i. e. A. M. 2281, *that* Onan *married within the ſame Year, that* Shelah *was grown,* i. e. *was about fifteen,* A. M. 2282; *that* Judah *lay with* Thamar, 2283; *that* Pharez *and* Zara *were born at the End of this Year. That* Pharez *was fifteen, and married, and had Twins,* Hezron *and* Hamul *at a time, and in the Year* 2298, *to have the Children carried with* Jacob *into* Egypt *in that Year. Here is certainly every thing offer'd, that can poſſibly be ſuppoſed, and whether nothing more than can reaſonably be allowed, I muſt refer to the Reader's Conſideration.* See Uſher's Chronol. Sacra. c. 10. p. 170. (*n*) Joſephus contra Apion. l. 1.

and

and who according to *Syncellus* was the twenty fifth King of the Land of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, there came a numerous Army of unknown People, and invaded *Egypt* on a ſudden, they over-ran both the upper and the lower *Egypt*, fired Houſes and Cities, kill'd the Inhabitants, and made a terrible Devaſtation all the Land over, and having in a little time ſubdued all before them, they made one of their Leaders their King, whoſe Name was *Salatis*: *Salatis* being made King laid the Land under Tribute, made the ancient Inhabitants of *Egypt* his Slaves, garriſon'd ſuch Towns as he thought proper, all over the Country, and eſtabliſhed himſelf upon the Throne, and ſettled his People in the Land. Whence *Salatis* and his Followers came, is only to be conjectur'd: They called themſelves the *Paſtors* or Shepherds; they took particular Care to fortify the Eaſtern Parts of *Egypt*, and ſeem'd moſt afraid of a Diſturbance from that Quarter. The Government of *Egypt* being thus ſubverted, the Protection and Happineſs which the *Iſraelites* enjoy'd periſh'd with it: *Salatis* knew nothing of *Joſeph*, nor did he regard any Eſtabliſhment which *Joſeph* had ſettled: He made his way into *Egypt* with his Sword, and he brought his People into the Land by Conqueſt, in ſuch a manner and upon ſuch Terms as he thought fit; and the *Iſraelites* were a rich

and

and encreaſing People, inhabiting the very Parts which he thought proper to take the greateſt Care of, and he readily ſuſpected, that if any Invaſion ſhould happen from the Eaſt, they would join againſt them (*g*). He therefore took a particular Care to keep them low.

That this King, who oppreſſed the *Iſraelites*, was not an *Egyptian*, but ſome Foreigner, who with his Forces had over-run the Country, ſeems very evident from the Appellations which *Moſes* gives him. *He was a new King*, and *knew not Joſeph* (*h*), both which Hints ſtrongly intimate him to be a Foreigner; the Word *New* is frequently uſed in this Senſe; *new Gods* (*i*) are *ſtrange* or *foreign* Gods; and had he been an *Egyptian* he muſt have known *Joſeph*, for he came to reign not long after *Joſeph* was dead, and his Brethren and all that Generation (*k*); and it is impoſſible that the Kings of *Egypt* could in ſo ſhort a Time have forgot *Joſeph*. Some Writers have endeavoured to determine whence this new King and People came. Cardinal *Cajetan* ſays they were *Aſſyrians*, which he collects from *Iſaiah* (*l*): the Words of the Prophet are, *Thus ſaith the Lord, My People went down aforetime into Egypt to ſojourn there, and the Aſſyri-*

(*g*) Exodus i. 10. (*h*) Ver. 8. (*i*) Deut. xxxii. 16, 17. Judges v. 8. (*k*) Exod. i. 6. (*l*) Iſaiah lii. 4.

an

an oppreſſed them without Cauſe. If the *Hebrew* Words had been put in ſuch Order, as that the Word *and* in this Verſe might be read before *there*, *and there the Aſſyrian oppreſſed them without Cauſe*, the *Cardinal*'s Opinion founded upon this Paſſage would be unqueſtionable; but as the Verſe is worded, the two Parts of it ſeem to be two diſtinct Sentences, and the Deſign of it was to comfort the *Jews* againſt the Proſpect of the *Babylonian* Captivity, by hinting to them their former Deliverance out of the *Egyptian* Bondage. *My People went down aforetime into Egypt to ſojourn there*; and now the *Aſſyrian* is about oppreſſing them without Cauſe: *Now therefore* [as it follows] *what have I here, ſaith the Lord, that my People is taken away for nought?* —— *therefore my People ſhall know my Name* —— *when the Lord ſhall bring again Zion* (*m*). The whole Deſign of this Paſſage, with what follows, was intended to hint to the *Iſraelites* that God would certainly bring them out of the *Babylonian* Captivity (*n*), and the *Cardinal*'s Conjecture cannot be at all ſupported by it. *Africanus* ſays, that theſe Paſtors that over-ran *Egypt* were *Phœnicians* (*o*), but hints, that ſome other Writers thought them to be *Arabians*: Theſe

(*m*) Iſaiah lii. 5, 6, 7, 8. (*n*) *See* Pool's Synopſis, in loc. (*o*) Syncellus, p. 61.

two Opinions are not ſo widely different as they ſeem to be, for *Africanus* hints that his *Phœnicians* came out of the Eaſtern Parts [ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν] and the Ancients did not accurately diſtinguiſh, but often called the whole Land of *Canaan* with the Countries adjacent by the Name of *Phœnicia:* It is indeed true that the *Arabians* are ſituate rather Southward than Eaſtward, and I ſhould not think theſe *Paſtors* came out of that Country: The moſt probable Conjecture that I can make about them is, that they were the *Horites* whom the Children of *Eſau* drove out of their own Land (*p*). Theſe *Horites* were a People that liv'd by Paſturage, and they were expelled their Country much about this Time: Their Paſſage into *Egypt* was almoſt directly from the Eaſt, and they had great reaſon to fortify the Eaſtern Parts of *Egypt*, very probably apprehending that the Enemy that had diſpoſſeſſed them of their own Country, might take Occaſion to follow them thither. It may ſeem unaccountable, that a Number of unſettled People ſhould be able to ſeize upon and overturn the Government of a large, a wiſe, and well-eſtabliſhed Kingdom: But this will not appear ſo ſurprizing, if we conſider the State of Kingdoms in theſe Ages. *Thucydides*'s

(*p*) Deut. ii. 12. 22.

Obſer-

Obſervation of the ancient States of *Greece* might be applied to all the Kingdoms of the World in the early Ages (*q*). Kings had not ſo firm and ſecure a Poſſeſſion of their Thrones, nor yet the People of the Countries they inhabited, as we are apt to think from a Judgment formed from the preſent State of the World: As there was but little Traffick ſtirring in theſe Times, ſo diſtant Kingdoms had little or no Acquaintance with one another, nor did they know of Deſigns formed againſt themſelves until they came to feel them. When the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* and were come into the Wilderneſs, they exerciſed and formed their Diſcipline and Government for forty Years together, and tho' they were exceedingly numerous, yet no great notice was taken of them, by any of the Nations that lay near them, until they were ready to attack them: Where could ſuch a Body of People get together now in the World, and not have an Alliance of all the Neighbour Kingdoms ready to require an Account of their Deſigns? But in theſe early Days

Mollia ſecuræ peragebant otia Gentes. Ovid.

Kings apprehended no foreign Attacks until the Armies, that came to conquer them, were at their Doors, and ſo their Kingdoms were more eaſily over-ran by them:

(*q*) Thucydid. l. 1,

Egypt

Egypt was a very flouriſhing Kingdom, but not famous for War: We do not read of any Exerciſe this way, or any Trial of their Arms from the Days of their firſt King to this Time; ſo that theſe *Horites* (if they were indeed the *Horites*) might eaſily conquer them, and gain themſelves a Settlement in their Kingdom; as the *Arcadians* did in *Thrace*; the *Pelaſgi* and afterwards the *Trojans* did in *Italy*; nay, and in much later Days the *Franconians* iſſued out of their own Country in this manner in armed Multitudes and conquer'd *France*, and ſet up there that Government, which that Kingdom is now ſubject to (*r*). The Time when theſe *Paſtors* thus over-ran *Egypt* may be pretty well determined in the following manner. 1. It was before *Moſes* was born; for the new King of *Egypt* had taken ſeveral meaſures to oppreſs the *Iſraelites* before the Time of *Moſes*'s Birth (*ſ*), and *Moſes* was born *A. M.* 2433. 2. It was after *Levi*'s Death; for *Joſeph* died and all his Brethren before this new King aroſe, that knew not *Joſeph* (*t*); and *Levi* liv'd to be 137 Years old (*u*), and ſo being born about *A. M.* 2253 (*x*), he died *A. M.* 2390. 3. It was

(*r*) Davila's *Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of* France, *Book* I.
(*ſ*) Exod. i. (*t*) Ver. 6. (*u*) Chap. vi. 16. (*x*) Levi *was* Jacob's *third Son.* Jacob *married* A. M. 2250. Levi *might be born about three Years after* Jacob *married.*

ſome

ſome Years after *Levi*'s Death, for not only *Joſeph* and his *Brethren* were dead, but all that Generation. *Benjamin* was born twenty Years after *Levi*, and therefore we may ſuppoſe that He, or at leaſt ſome of that Generation liv'd ſo long after *Levi*'s Death, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 2410, ſo that it was after that Year and before the Year of *Moſes*'s Birth 2433, perhaps about the Year 2420; and this Account will place it much about the ſame Time that the *Horites* were expell'd *Seir* by the Children of *Eſau*; for they were expelled by *Eſau*'s Grand-children of the Families of his younger Sons *Reuel* and *Eliphaz*, and theſe *Paſtors* came to *Egypt* in the time of *Jacob*'s Grand-children by his younger Sons, their Fathers being all dead. If we determine the *Paſtors* coming into *Egypt* about the Year 2420 abovementioned, and in the fifth Year of the Reign of *Concharis*, we may count backwards 133 Years in Sir *John Marſham*'s Liſt of the Kings of *Tanis*, for ſo many Years paſſed between *Joſeph*'s Advancement and *A. M.* 2420, and ſo determine who the King was, and in what Year of his Reign he advanced *Joſeph*; and according to this Account *Joſeph* was advanced by *Thuſimares* the twentieth King of *Tanis*, and in the thirteenth Year of *Thuſimares*'s Reign, as I have before ſuppoſed.

The

The *Paſtors* and their King took particular care to keep the *Iſraelites* low. He made them his Slaves, employed them in building him Store-houſes and Walls for *Abaris* (*u*) which was afterwards call'd *Peluſium*, or according to *Moſes Pithom*, and for *Raamſes* (*w*), and in making Brick, and in other laborious Services; and conſidering that they encreas'd exceedingly in Numbers, he order'd the Midwives to kill every Male Child that ſhould be born of any of them (*x*). The Midwives did not execute his Orders, ſo he thought of another Way to deſtroy them, and charged all his People to have every Male Child, that was born to the *Iſraelites*, thrown into the River (*y*).

There is a Difficulty in the Account which *Moſes* gives in this Place of the Midwives, *It came to paſs, becauſe the Midwives feared God, that he made them Houſes* (*z*). Can we ſuppoſe that God raiſed Houſes for the Midwives miraculouſly? or could the *Iſraelites* oppreſſed in Slavery ſhew ſo great a Gratitude as to build them any? or if they could, dare they venture to requite them ſo publickly, for refuſing to act as the King order'd them? If I may take a Liberty of gueſ-

(*u*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 105. Joſephus cont. Appion. l. Euſebius Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 12. (*w*) Exod. i. 1
(*x*) Ver. 16. (*y*) Ver. 22. (*z*) Ver. 21.

ſing

ſing, I ſhould think that *Moſes* did not mean in this Place, that Houſes were built for the Midwives, but for the *Iſraelites*. It will be queried who was the Builder? Why ſhould God upon the Caſe here before us build the *Iſraelites* Houſes? I anſwer: It was not God built the Houſes here ſpoken of, but *Pharaoh*: The Caſe was this: *Pharaoh* had charged the Midwives to kill the Male Children that were born of the *Hebrew* Women; the Midwives feared God, and omitted to do as the King had commanded them, pretending in Excuſe for their Omiſſion, that the *Hebrew* Women were generally deliver'd before they could get to them (*a*): *Pharaoh* hereupon reſolving to prevent their Increaſe, gave a Charge to his People to have all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* thrown into the River; but this Command could not be ſtrictly executed, whilſt the *Iſraelites* lived up and down in the Fields in Tents, which was their ancient and cuſtomary way of living, for they would ſhift here and there, and lodge the Women in Child-bed out of the way to ſave their Children; *Pharaoh* therefore built them Houſes, and obliged them to a more ſettled Habitation, that the People he had ſet over them might know where to find every Family, and take Account of all the

(*a*) Exod. i. 19.

Children that ſhould be born: ſo that this was a very cunning Contrivance of *Pharaoh*, in order to have his Charge more ſtrictly and effectually executed than it could otherwiſe have been, and was a remarkable Particular not to be omitted in *Moſes*'s Account of this Affair: But as to Houſes built for the Midwives, it ſeems impoſſible to give any Account why they ſhould be built, or how, or by whom. It will here be asked, But how can the Words of *Moſes* be reconciled to what I have offered? I anſwer: If they be faithfully tranſlated, they can bear no other Meaning whatſoever; which will be very evident from the following Tranſlation of the Place, which is word for word agreeable to the *Hebrew*, and which I have diſtinguiſhed into Verſes, as I think the Paſſage ought really to have been diſtinguiſhed.

Verſe 18. *And the King of Egypt called for the Midwives, and ſaid unto them, Why have ye done this Thing, and ſaved alive the Children?*

Ver. 19. *And the Midwives ſaid unto Pharaoh, Becauſe the Hebrew Women are not as the Egyptian Women, for they are lively, and are delivered before the Midwife comes to them.*

Ver. 20. *And God dealt well with the Midwives: And the People multiplied and waxed very mighty:* [ויהי vejehi, i. e.] *And this*

this happened, (or was ſo, or came to paſs) *becauſe the Midwives feared God.*

† *And Pharaoh built them* [*i. e.* the Iſraelites] *Houſes, and charged all his People ſaying, Every Son that is born ye ſhall caſt into the River, and every Daughter ye ſhall ſave alive.*

And thus, if I may take the Liberty to ſuppoſe the Paſſage not rightly pointed as to the Stops, which were the ancient Marks at the End of Verſes (*b*), the Words may well be render'd as I would take them. The Diviſion of the *Hebrew* Bible into Verſes is certainly very ancient; but not earlier than the Captivity (*c*), and I do not find, that the beſt Writers imagine the Sections made by an unerring Hand. I ſhould think the Verſes which I am treating of, to have been divided as they now are injudiciouſly by ſome careleſs Tranſcriber; but it is evident, that they were thus parted before the LXX Tranſlation was made, for the LXX render the 21ſt Verſe thus, [Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφοβοῦντο αἱ μαῖαι τὸν Θεὸν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας·] *And becauſe the Midwives feared God, they made them-*

† *The Words are*

ויעש להם בתים ויצו פרעה לכל עמו

Suo populo omni Pharaoh præcepit & domos illis fecit &

Our Engliſh *Tranſlators ſhould have conſidered that the Nominative Caſe to two Verbs is commonly put after the ſecond Verb, in other Languages, tho' our* Engliſh *will not admit of it.*

(*b*) *See* Prideaux. Connect. *Vol.* I. B. V. (*c*) Id. ibid.

themſelves Houſes. And hence it is evident that the LXX found a Difficulty in the Verſe, and thought it abſurd to ſay that God built the Midwives Houſes, and ſo turn'd the Expreſſion another way; but their Verſion cannot be right, for the *Hebrew* Words are not *They* but *He built*, and in the Original [*la Hem*] ſignifies *for them* and not *for themſelves*: and I do not at preſent ſee any way to give a clear Account of the Place ſo eaſy, as to ſuppoſe the Punctuation wrong, as I have imagined. Some of the Commentators have indeed offer'd a Conjecture at firſt ſight very promiſing to explain the Expreſſion as it now ſtands: They would take the Words *made them Houſes*, *metaphorically*, and ſay that they mean, either that God gave the Midwives many Children, or that he made them proſperous in their Affairs: The former of theſe Interpretations is St. *Ambroſe*'s, and it is ſaid, that the Expreſſion is thus uſed *Gen.* xvi. 2. xxx. iii. *Deut.* xxv. 9. *Ruth* iv. 11. but in this Point theſe Interpreters make a great Miſtake; the Expreſſion before us is *Naſhah Beith*, but the Expreſſion in the Paſſages cited is a very different one, it is *Banah Beith* and not *Naſhah:* Had the Expreſſion here before us been [*Banah Beithim lahem*], it might have ſignified *God built up their Houſes or Families by making them numerous*; but [*Naſhah Beithim*

Beithim lahem] are Words of a very different meaning: But in the ſecond Place, it is ſaid that [*Naſhah Beithim*] ſignifies, that *God proſpered them*, or *provided for them*, and *Gen.* xxx. 30. is cited to juſtify this Interpretation. The Words in that Paſſage are, *And now, when ſhall I* [make or] *provide for my own Houſe alſo?* But here again the Inſtance fails: The Expreſſion cited is not [*Naſhah Beith*], but it is [*Naſhah le Beith*] not *When ſhall I make my Houſe?* but, *when ſhall I make for my Houſe*, or, *when ſhall I do for my Houſe?* between which two Expreſſions there is evidently a Difference.

The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

BOOK VIII.

SALATIS, the new King of *Egypt*, not only oppreſſed the *Iſraelites*, but by the Violence of his Conqueſts *(a)* ſo terrified the ancient Inhabitants of the Land, that many Perſons of the firſt Figure thought it better to leave their native Country, than to endeavour to ſit down under the Calamities, which they feared might be brought upon them; and from hence it happened, that ſeveral Companies made the beſt way

(a) Joſephus cont. Apion, l. 1. p. 1337.

they

hey could out of *Egypt*, in hopes of gain-ng themſelves an happier Settlement in ome Foreign Country. *Iſter*, a Writer ited by *Euſebius (b)*, and by *Clemens Alex-ndrinus (c)*, and who lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Euergetes (d)*, wrote a parti-ular Account of the Colonies that re-moved out of *Egypt* into other Nations: His Work would perhaps have been very ſerviceable in this Place; but this and other Performances of *Iſter* are long ſince loſt; however, *Diodorus Siculus* has particu-arly remarked, that *Egypt* has ſent many Colonies into diverſe Parts of the World *(e)*, and we may collect from him, nd from Hints of other ancient Wri-ers, that *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, and the Father of *Cadmus*, left *Egypt* about the Times we are treating of; and *Danaus* nd *Belus* followed them not long after.

Belus was the Son of *Neptune*: Who his *Neptune* was we are not informed, but t ſeems to be an *Egyptian* Name; for the *Egyptians* called the Shores which the ea Waves beat upon, *Nepthun (f)*; and moſt probably the Perſon called by this Name was an Inventor of Shipping, and from thence came to be called the God of he Sea; and this Tradition of him was

(b) Præp. Evang. lib. 4. c. 16. (c) Stromat. l. 1.
(d) Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 107. (e) Lib. 1. p. 24.
(f) Plutarch in Iſide & Oſir de. p. 365.

embraced by the *Cretans (g)*. *Herodotus* obſerves, that he had divine Honours paid him in a Country next adjacent to *Egypt (h)*, where his Wife ſeems to have lived *(i)*, and where perhaps he might go to live, when his Son *Belus* left *Egypt*; but either becauſe he died not in *Egypt*, or becauſe he lived in theſe troubleſome Times, when the Natives of *Egypt* were under a Foreign Power that had invaded them, his Name was not recorded amongſt the great and eminent *Egyptian* Ancients; and ſo, tho' in After-ages he was worſhipped in many foreign Countries, yet he never was reputed a Deity by the *Egyptians (k)*. His Son *Belus* went to *Babylon*, and carried with him ſome of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and obtained them Leave to ſettle and cultivate their Studies there, in the ſame manner, and with the Encouragement and Protection, which they had been favoured with in their own Country *(l)*. If we conſider the Studies which theſe *Egyptians* were engaged in, it will be eaſy to account for their meeting with ſo favourable a Reception at *Babylon*. They employed themſelves in Aſtronomy, and making Obſervations on the Stars *(m)*, and

(g) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 337. (h) Lib. 2. c. 50.
(i) *His Wife was called* Λιβύη, Diodor. l. 1. p. 24.
(k) Herodotus Lib. 2. c. 50. (l) Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 24.
(m) Id. ibid.

the *Babylonians* had been Promoters and Encouragers of this Study above ſeven hundred Years before theſe Men came amongſt them, and continued to cultivate and cheriſh theſe Arts for above eleven hundred Years after *(n)*. Theſe *Egyptians* were probably very able to put the *Babylonians* into a better Method of proſecuting theſe Studies, than they were before Maſters of; for tho' the *Babylonians* began to make Aſtronomical Obſervations ſooner than any other Nation in the World, yet the *Egyptians* ſeem to have been more happy in theſe Studies than they; for the firſt Correction in the Length of the Year was made in *Egypt (o)*, and before the *Babylonians* were able to attempt it. We may make a Conjecture not improbable, of what this *Belus* might teach the *Babylonians*, in order to improve their *Aſtronomical* Obſervations. The chief Aim of the ancient *Aſtronomers* was to obſerve the times of the riſing and ſetting of the Stars; and the firſt, and moſt proper Places they could think of to make their Obſervations in, were very large and open Plains *(p)*, where they could have an extenſive View of the *Horizon* without Interruption; and

(n) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 191, 192. (o) Pref. Vol. I. p. 5—7.
(p) Τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς σωεργούσης πρὸς τὸ πλανήτων ἰδεῖν τὰς ἐπιτολὰς καὶ δύσεις τῶν ἄστρων. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 46.

ſuch

ſuch Plains as theſe were their Obſervatories for many Generations. But the *Egyptians* had, about three hundred Years before the time of this *Belus* (*q*), thought of a Method to improve theſe Views, namely by building their Pyramids, on the Tops of which they might take their Proſpects with ſtill greater Advantage; and *Belus* taught the *Babylonians* the Uſe of theſe Structures, and perhaps projected for them that lofty Tower, which conveyed the Name of *Belus* down to future Ages. The moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* remarks of this Tower, that it was more ancient than the Temple, which was afterwards built round it, and that it was certainly built many Ages (*r*) before *Nebuchadnezzar*; and according to this Account of it, it will be more ancient than his Reign, by almoſt a thouſand Years. *Bochart* aſſerts it to have been the very ſame Tower, which was built in this Country at the Confuſion of Tongues (*s*); but it cannot well be imagined to be ſo, for that certainly was a mountanious Heap raiſed with no great Art, by a Multitude of untaught and unexperienced Builders, who had no further Aim than to raiſe a Monument of their Vanity (*t*); but this was a nice Piece of

(*q*) *The largeſt Pyramid was built by* Syphis. See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 319. (*r*) Connect. Vol. I. B. 2. (*s*) Phaleg. Part I. l. 1. c. 9. (*t*) See Vol. I. B. 2. p. 106.

Work-

Workmanſhip, more like the Production of a more improved Age, and it was a Building well contrived and fitted for various Uſes. I might add further, that this Tower was finiſhed, but the former never was; ſo that at moſt this could only be raiſed upon the Ruins and Foundations of that, and muſt have been the Work of later Builders. The Tower of *Belus* ſeems to have been a great Improvement of the *Egyptian* Pyramids; for the Tower was contrived to anſwer all the uſeful Purpoſes of the largeſt Pyramid, and in a better manner. It was raiſed to a much greater Height *(u)*, and had a more commodious Space at Top, and more uſeful and larger Apartments within, and yet was a leſs bulky Building, and raiſed upon far narrower Foundations. In its outward Form, it lookt ſo like a Pyramid to them that view'd it at a little Diſtance, that it has been miſtaken for one; and *Strabo* expreſsly calls it a Pyramid in the Account he gives of it *(w)*. And upon theſe Accounts, I ſhould imagine it was projected by one well acquainted with the *Egyptian* Pyramid, and its Defects, and therefore able to deſign a Structure that might exceed it; and I cannot ſay to whom we can aſcribe it with ſo great a ſhew of Probability as to the *Belus* we are ſpeaking of. It is

(u) Dr. Prideaux ub. ſup. (w) Lib. 16.

not

not probable that the *Egyptian* Name of this Man was *Belus*, for *Bel* or *Belus* is an *Aſſyrian*, and not an *Egyptian* Name; but it is remarkable that all ſorts of Perſons had new Names given them, whenever they were well received in Foreign Countries. *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, called *Joſeph Zaphnath-Paaneah (x)*, and the Prince of the Eunuchs gave new Names to *Daniel* and his Companions, when they were appointed to be taken care of, and prepared for public Employments in the Court of *Babylon (y)*; and what Name more proper, or more honorary than this, could they give this *Egyptian*, who was eminent in a Science, which one of their firſt Kings of this Name was the famous and firſt Profeſſor of? It is even now a known Figure of Speech to call an excellent Orator a *Cicero*, a Poet an *Homer*, an eminent and virtuous Legiſlator *Lycurgus*, a Soldier *Achilles* or *Hector*. With the Ancients in the firſt Times, it was their common Uſage; and thus *Agathodæmon* (*z*) was called *Thyoth* or *Thoth* in *Egypt* becauſe he was the Reviver and Reſtorer of thoſe Parts of Learning, which a Son of *Mizraim* of that Name firſt planted there, many Ages before this ſecond *Thyoth*

(*x*) Gen. xli. 45. (*y*) Dan. i. 7. (*z*) See Vol. I. B. 1. p. 47. *Sir* J. Marſh. Can. Chron. p. 231. Euſeb. in Chron.

was born. And thus the *Babylonians* named the Perſon we are ſpeaking of *Belus*, becauſe he was a great and remarkable Improver of that Aſtronomy which *Belus*, the ſecond King of *Babylon*, was the celebrated Author of. Sir *John Marſham* ſeems to think the *Belus* we are ſpeaking of, and the King of *Babylon* of that Name, to be but one and the ſame Perſon (*a*); and he imagines him to be *Arius* the fourth King after *Ninus*; and he endeavours to ſupport his Opinion by a Paſſage from *Cedrenus* (*b*), who ſays, "That after *Ninus*, *Thurus* reign'd over the *Aſſyrians*, that his "Father *Zames* called him *Ares*, that the "*Aſſyrians* ſet up the firſt Pillar to this "*Ares*, and worſhipped him as a God, "naming him *Baal*." In which Opinion of *Cedrenus* there are theſe Miſtakes: 1. *Ares* here ſpoken of, to whom the *Aſſyrians* ſet up the firſt Pillar, was not a deify'd King or Hero, but a Name of the Star *Mars*; for the *Babylonians* worſhipped in the firſt Days of their Idolatry the Luminaries of Heaven, and did indeed ſet up a Pillar to that particular Planet (*c*). 2. They did not call this particular Deity *Baal*, but *Adar* or *Azar* (*d*). *Baal* was their Name for the Sun. 3. It was not until many A-

(*a*) Can. Chron. p. 32. 107. (*b*) Cedren. p. 16. Marſh. Can. Chron. p. 32. (*c*) See Vol. I. B. 5. p 328. (*d*) p. 331.

ges

ges after, that they worſhipped their Kings. *Geſner* very judiciouſly remarks, that the *Aſſyrians* deify'd *Belus*, *i. e.* the King of that Name, about *A. M.* 3185 (*e*), and they cannot be ſuppoſed to have deify'd him ſooner. For they were not deſcended ſo low in their Idolatry as to worſhip Images, until after *A. M.* 3274, which is the twelfth or thirteenth Year of *Ahaz*, and about the time that the Men of *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath* and *Sepharvaim* were brought to live in *Samaria* (*f*); and it is very probable, that when they had deified their Kings and Heroes, Image-worſhip was introduced ſoon after. Theſe Miſtakes of *Cedrenus* were moſt probably occaſioned by the Planet *Mars*, and the King *Ares* bearing the ſame Name; but omitting to remark that the Names we now have of theſe early *Aſſyrian* Kings are exotic Names, and not *Aſſyrian*; and that the Perſons intended by them, were not ſo called in their own Countries, nor until they came to be written of in Foreign Languages, out of which moſt of theſe Names are evidently taken; and ſuppoſing that this *Arius* had an *Aſſyrian* Name, as agreeable to the *Aſſyrian* Name for *Mars*, as *Arius* or *Ares* is to Ἄρης the *Greek* one; yet the Time he lived in ſhould have been conſidered, and the

(*e*) Not. ad Tatian. Ed. Worth Oxon. p. 126.
(*f*) Vol. I. B. 5. p. 346. *Archbiſhop* Uſher's *Annals*.

Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms of it. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped n theſe Days the Luminaries of Heaven; ut in order to do their Kings Honour, hey called them by the Names of their Gods; and they called one of them *Bel*, *Baal* or *Belus*, another perhaps *Adar*, nother *Nebo*, another *Gad*, and in time hey put two or three of theſe Names to-ether *(g)*; and this was their way of *put-ing the Names of their Gods upon them (h)*: But it cannot be concluded from heir Kings bearing theſe Names, that they orſhipped their Kings; rather theſe Names f their Kings lead us to the Knowledge f the Gods which they ſerved. Sir *John Marſham* obſerves, that *Pauſanias* hints, at the *Babylonian Belus* had his Name rom an *Egyptian* ſo called: The Paſſage n *Pauſanias* is this, he relates that "*Manticlus* built a Temple for the *Meſſenians*, which he dedicated to *Hercules*, and that they called the God *Hercules Manticlus*, as they called the *African* Deity *Ammon*, and the *Babylonian Belus*; the one being named from *Belus* an *Egyptian*, the Son of *Libya*, the other from a Shepherd, who founded the Temple *(i)*." Now from this Paſſage f *Pauſanias*, it can in no wiſe be concluded, that the *Babylonians* had had no King

(g) Book 5. Vol. I. p. 329, (h) Num. vi. 27.
(i) In Meſſeniac.

named

named *Belus*, until this *Egyptian Belus* came amongſt them; but the true Inferences from it are theſe: 1. That Deities had commonly a *cognomen* or additional Name from the Founders of their Temples. 2. That the *Egyptian Belus* founded the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*. This laſt Propoſition is indeed not true; for there were no Temples in the World ſo early as the Days even of this ſecond *Belus*; Men at this time worſhipping either in Groves, or at their Altars in the open Air. However *Pauſanias* might find Reaſon to think this *Belus* built the Tower which was called by his Name, and he might not ſeparate the Tower from the Temple, which, as the moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* obſerves (*k*), was not built at the ſame Time; ſo that all that can be concluded from *Pauſanias* is, that an *Egyptian* built the Tower of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and this I believe is true; but this *Belus* was not ſo called when he lived in *Egypt*, but had the Honour of that Name given him by the *Aſſyrians*, in Memory of a celebrated King ſo called by them, who was famous for the Aſtronomical Learning which this *Egyptian* profeſſed. Upon the whole; That the Succeſſor of *Nimrod* and Predeceſſor of *Ninus* the ſecond King of *Babylon*, was called *Bel* or *Belus*, w

(*k*) Ubi ſup.

are aſſured by *Africanus* and *Euſebius* (*l*); and *Africanus* remarks, that the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians concurred in it. That there was an *Egyptian* who led a Colony to *Babylon*, and was there called *Belus*, we are aſſured by *Diodorus*, and it is alſo hinted by *Pauſanias* in the Paſſage above cited. That this *Belus* did not come to *Babylon* before the Times we are treating of, ſeems probable, becauſe we have no Reaſon to think that *Egypt* ſent out any Colonies until theſe Days; and further, from his being ſaid to build the Tower of *Belus*, which cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been built until after the largeſt *Egyptian* Pyramid; and that he came to *Babylon* about theſe Times, ſeems further probable from his living about the time that Ships were invented: For it is ſaid, his Father *Neptune* was the Inventor of Ships (*m*); and that they were invented about theſe Times, appears from what is recorded of *Danaus*, who was cotemporary with this *Belus*, that he made the firſt Ship, and fled with it from *Egypt* (*n*); his Ship, ſays *Pliny* (*o*), was called the firſt Ship, becauſe until his Times Men uſed only ſmaller Boats or Veſſels. Such Ships as *Danaus*'s were a new thing in theſe

(*l*) In Chronic. Euſeb. (*m*) Diodor. ſup. cit. Marm. Arundel. Ep. 9.
(*n*) Apollodor. l. 2. p. 63.
(*o*) L. 7. c. 56.

Days, and therefore *Nephtun* the *Egyptian* was the Inventor of them, and conſequently his Son *Belus* lived about this Time. And thus I have endeavoured to clear the Hiſtory of theſe two *Belus's*, which ſome learned Writers have been fond of perplexing. *Belus* was the Father of *Danaus* (*oo*); and as it will appear that *Danaus* came to *Greece* *A. M.* 2494, ſo it is probable that *Belus* went to *Babylon* about the ſame time.

Cecrops left *Egypt* many Years ſooner than the time when *Belus* went to *Babylon*, and after ſome Years Travels he came to *Greece*, and lived in *Attica*. He was well received there by *Actæus*, who was at that time King of the Country, and from whom the Country was named *Actica* (*p*); and ſome time after he married *Actæus's* Daughter; and when *Actæus* died ſucceeded him in his Kingdom (*q*). The time when *Cecrops* became King of *Attica*, may be determined from the *Parian Chronicon*, which records that *Cecrops* reigned at *Athens* 1318 Years before that Chronicle was compoſed (*r*). Now ſuppoſing the *Chronicon* compoſed *A. M.* 3741 (*s*), it will fix the Beginning of *Cecrops*'s Reign to

(*oo*) Prideaux Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 156.

(*p*) Marm. Arundel. Ep. 1. *See* Prideaux Annotat. in Chron. Marm. p. 91. (*q*) Pauſanias in Atticis. (*r*) Ep. Marm.

(*s*) *Archbiſhop* Uſher's Chron.

A. M.

A. M. 2423. *Euſebius* is thought to differ from this Account (*t*), 26 Years ſays *Selden* and *Lydiat* from him (*u*); I think he ſeems to differ 44; for *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon* begins the Reign of *Cecrops* 99 or 100 Years after the Death of *Joſeph* (*w*). And conſequently muſt begin it about *A. M.* 2467; for *Joſeph* died *A. M.* 2367 (*x*). *Lydiat* has attempted to reconcile this Difference, but I doubt the Reader will find what he has offered but little to his Satisfaction. I ſhould hope, that we may have Liberty to cut Knots of this ſort, inſtead of trying to untie them: However, ſince all the ancient *Greek* Chronology muſt depend upon our fixing this Period, I will endeavour to lay before the Reader the whole of what the ancient Writers offer about it, and then he may the better form a Judgment of it. And,

1. *Caſtor* endeavours to fix the time of *Cecrops*'s Reign, in his Liſt or Account of the Kings of *Sicyon* (*y*). He tells us that *Ægialeus* was the firſt King of *Sicyon*, that he reigned 52 Years, and began his Reign about the 15th Year of *Belus* the firſt King of *Babylon*; ſo that we may fix the firſt Year of *Ægialeus* to *A. M.* 1920, *Belus* beginning his Reign *A. M.* 1905 (*z*).

(*t*) Chronic. (*u*) Lydiat. Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 13.
Num. Euſeb. in Chronic. 460. (*x*) Book VII.
Euſebii χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 19. (*z*) See Vol. I. B. 4.
182.

Caſtor proceeds, and gives us the Reigns of twelve Kings that ſucceeded *Ægialeus*, with the particular Lengths of each of their Reigns; and all of them together, including the Reign of *Ægialeus* with them, amount to 560 Years, ending at the Death of *Marathonius*, and will bring us to *A. M.* 2480. *Caſtor* remarks after *Marathonius*'s Name, Κατὰ τοῦτον πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἀττικῆς Κέκροψ ὁ διφυὴς, that in his Time *Cecrops* began to reign in *Attica*: Now *Marathonius* reigned but 30 Years, ſo that placing the firſt Year of *Cecrops* very early in his Reign, (*Euſebius* places it in the third Year) (*a*), we muſt fix the firſt Year of *Cecrops*, according to this Account, about *A. M.* 2450 or 2453. I would do *Caſtor* the Juſtice to remark, that his Account of theſe Times ſeems well adjuſted in another Particular. After *Meſſapus* he remarks, that in his Time *Joſeph* was made Governour of *Egypt*; and *Meſſapus*, according to his Account, began to reign *A. M.* 2246, and he reigned 47 Years, and *Joſeph* was advanced (*b*) *A. M.* 2287, *i. e.* in the 41ſt Year of *Meſſapus*.

2. We may collect the Time of *Cecrops* from another Account of the ſame Chronologer. We have his Liſt of the *Argive* Kings, from *Inachus* the firſt King of that

(*a*) In Χρονικ. καν. (*b*) See B. VII.

Country

Country (*c*): He says that *Inachus* began his Reign about the time of *Thurimachus* the seventh King of *Sicyon*. Now if we calculate, we shall find that *Thurimachus* began his Reign about *A. M.* 2148; for *Castor* places him 228 Years later than the first Year of *Ægialeus*. And supposing *Inachus* to begin his Reign near as soon as *Thurimachus*, in *Thurimachus*'s sixth Year, according to *Eusebius* (*d*), we shall begin *Inachus*'s Reign *A. M.* 2154. From the first Year of *Inachus*, to the beginning of *Triopas*'s Reign, who was the seventh King of *Argos*, *Castor* computes 304 Years; so that *Triopas* began to reign *A. M.* 2458; and *Tatian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* both agree, that *Cecrops* reigned about the time of *Triopas* (*e*); and *Eusebius*, after examining further, was of the same Opinion (*f*). And thus from both these Accounts of *Castor*, we must begin *Cecrops*'s Reign later than *A. M.* 2450.

3. We have in the next Place a Computation, which *Scaliger* intended to have pass for *Eusebius*'s, and this will bring us to about the same Year. It is computed that *Ogyges* first reign'd over the *Athenians*, and that he was cotemporary with *Phoroneus*

(*c*) Euseb. χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 24. (*d*) In Chron. Can. (*e*) Clem. Stromat. l. 1. p. 380. Edit. Oxon. Tatian. orat. ad Græcos. p. 132. (*f*) Præp. Evang. Lib. 6. c. 9.

King of *Argos* (*g*): *Caſtor* was of the ſame Opinion (*h*). It is ſaid further, that *Ogyges* lived about the Times of *Meſſapus* the ninth King of *Sicyon*, and that he was later than *Belochus* the ninth King of *Aſſyria*. Now if any one will make a Table of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, beginning *Belus*'s Reign where I have placed it, he will find that *Belochus* died *A. M.* 2263; and from *Caſtor*'s Table of the Kings of *Sicyon*, it may be computed, that *Meſſapus* began his Reign *A. M.* 2246, and ended it *A. M.* 2293; ſo that if we place *Ogyges* the Year after *Belochus* died, we ſhall place him in the 18th Year of *Meſſapus*, and *A. M.* 2264; and from *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*, we are told are 190 Years, ſo that this Account will place *Cecrops A. M.* 2454.

4. *Porphyry*'s Account places *Cecrops* ſtill later. He ſays that *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt* in the 45th Year of *Cecrops* (*k*). Now *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt A. M.* 2513, and therefore if *Cecrops* began his Reign but 45 Years before this Time, we muſt place him *A. M.* 2468. Theſe are the ſeveral Computations of the ancient Writers which are now extant; but I would in the next Place obſerve, that *Euſebius* did not intend to agree with any of theſe Computations.

(*g*) Euſeb. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 27. (*h*) Ibid. p. 24.
(*k*) Ibid. p. 29.

We

We have a general, but a full Account of what *Euſebius*, after the beſt Examination he could make, found to be true, both in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, and in his *Proœmium* to his *Greek Canon Chronicus* (*i*), and the Particulars are: 1. That *Cecrops* and *Moſes* were cotemporaries. 2. That they lived 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*; or rather, as he expreſſes it in another Place, almoſt 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*. 3. That from *Moſes* backwards to the Birth of *Abraham* are 405 Years, and ſo many likewiſe from *Ninus* to *Cecrops*. 4. From *Semiramis* to *Cecrops* are more than 400 Years. Theſe are the Particulars which *Euſebius* thought himſelf well aſſured of, and from theſe Particulars it will fully appear, that *Euſebius*'s Computations did not really differ from our *Epocha* on the Marble. For, 1. If by *Cecrops* and *Moſes* being cotemporaries be meant, that *Moſes* was born after *Cecrops* was King at *Athens*, and this ſeems to be *Euſebius*'s meaning; (he ſays Μωυσέα γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Κέκροπα *(k)*, which Expreſſion is beſt explained by what he ſays of *Ninus* in the ſame Place, that Ἀβραὰμ εἶναι κατ' αὐτόν, and he ſuppoſes *Abraham* born towards the latter end of *Ninus*'s Reign, in his 43d Year; and this is evidently the meaning of the Expreſſion ſeveral

(*i*) See Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 9. p. 486. Πεσσιμ.
(*k*) Πεσσιμ. ut ſup.

times uſed in *Caſtor*'s Liſts beforementioned (*m*) always in this Senſe:) If, I ſay, we are to underſtand by this Expreſſion, that *Moſes* was born after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, there is no Difference in this Particular between *Euſebius* and the Marble. For *Moſes* was born *A. M.* 2433 (*n*), and according to the Marble, *Cecrops* began to reign *A. M.* 2423. 2. *Moſes* and *Cecrops* were 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*, not quite ſo much but almoſt. Now if we ſuppoſe *Troy* was taken *A. M.* 2820, according to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, the Year in which the Marble begins *Cecrops*'s Reign is 397 Years before the taking of *Troy*; or rather, if we fix the taking of *Troy* according to the Marble (*o*) to *A. M.* 2796, we begin *Cecrops*'s Reign 373 Years before the taking of *Troy*, and place *Moſes*'s Birth before that Period 383 Years, making it fall ſhort 17 only of 400. 3. From *Moſes* backwards to the Birth of *Abraham*, are 505 Years, and from *Cecrops* to *Ninus* are the ſame Number. Now *Moſes* was born *A. M.* 2433, *Abraham* was born 2008, ſo that here evidently wants 80 Years of the Computation: But *Euſebius* tells us expreſly, that he deſign'd this Account ſhould begin, not at *Moſes*'s Birth, but at the 80th Year of his

(*m*) *Both of the* Sicyonian *and* Argive *Kings.* Κεφαλ. λογ. χρον. p. 19, 24. (*n*) *Archbiſhop* Uſher. (*o*) Epocha 25.

Life

Life (*p*); how this came to be omitted in his *Præparatio Evangelica* (*q*) I cannot tell. And now, if in like manner we compute backwards from the 80th Year after the Beginning of *Cecrops*'s Reign (*r*), we shall come to *Ninus*. *Ninus* died *A. M.* 2017. The 80th Year after the first of *Cecrops* is according to the Marble 2503, deduct out of it 505 Years, and the Year you will come back to is *A. M.* 1998, which falls within *Ninus*'s Reign, and is the 33d Year of his Reign. 4. From *Semiramis* to *Cecrops* are more than 400 Years. *Semiramis* began her Reign *A. M.* 2017 (*s*). *Cecrops* according to the Marble began his 2423, *i. e.* 406 Years after *Semiramis*. Thus, according to the Particulars upon which *Eusebius* calculated the Time of *Cecrops*, we cannot conclude but that his Computation agreed perfectly well with that of the Marble, varying very little, if any thing at all from it; and from all these Particulars duly considered, it appears very plainly, that *Cecrops* is not placed in the *Canon Chronicus*, which we now have of *Eusebius*, where *Eusebius* did in all Probability really place him. For, 1. *Cecrops* is there

(*p*) Ἀπὸ τῶν π' Μωσέως, &c. Hieron. ut sup. (*q*) Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. c. 9. p. 484. (*r*) Ἀπὸ δηλονότι τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς Κέκροπος Βασιλείας, *are the Words of both in* c. 9. l. 10. Præp. Evang. & in Procem. *And* Vigerus *the* Latin *Translator renders it*, Ab illo Cecropis Regni Anno. (*s*) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 185.

placed

placed 35 Years after the Birth of *Moſes*, ſo that *Moſes* ought not to have been ſaid to be χτ' Κέκροπα, or born in the Times of *Cecrops*, but *Cecrops* to have been χτ' Μωυσέα, and ſo *Euſebius* would have expreſſed it, if this had been his Meaning. 2. According to this *Canon*, *Moſes* is not born almoſt 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*. 3. *Cecrops* is here made to be 450 Years later than *Semiramis*, which cannot well be reconciled with *Euſebius*. 4. 505 Years computed backwards from the 80th Year of *Cecrops*, will not bring us back to *Ninus*; for according to this *Canon*, *Cecrops*'s firſt Year is 450 Years after the laſt Year of *Ninus*, ſo that the Poſition of *Cecrops* in the preſent *Canon* of *Euſebius* does but ill agree with two of *Euſebius*'s four Marks of *Cecrops*'s Time, and evidently differs from the other two; whereas the true time of *Cecrops*, as fixed by the Marble, agrees perfectly with all the four. But the Learned know that the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, which he himſelf compoſed, is long ago loſt, and that the Work we now have of that Name was compoſed by *Scaliger*, from ſuch Fragments as he could find of *Euſebius* in other Writers; and he has in ſome things given us his own Sentiments, inſtead of *Euſebius*'s Chronology, of which we have an evident Inſtance in this Particular; which, with ſeveral others, ought carefully to be-

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed by thoſe, who would build upon the Authority of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*. And thus at laſt it appears, that the Marble differs from *Scaliger* only, and not from *Euſebius*: *Scaliger* was probably led into this Miſtake by *Caſtor*'s Computations, not attending to what *Euſebius* has ſaid upon the Subject in his other Works, and in his Preface to this.

I might offer ſomething further to ſhew how *Caſtor* was led into his Miſtake in this Point, but I fear the Reader is already tired with too long a Digreſſion; however I will ſuggeſt an Hint, which the Reader may think further of, if he pleaſes. It is agreed by all the beſt Writers, that *Cecrops* lived about the time of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, and according to *Caſtor*'s Computations, *Triopas* began to reign *A.M.* 2458; but it is remarkable that *Caſtor* ſets *Triopas* lower in the *Argive* Liſt than he ought to have done; for he has inſerted a King as his Predeceſſor, who never reign'd there. He makes *Apis* the third King of *Argos*, and ſays he reign'd 35 Years; but we find from *Æſchylus* (*t*), that *Apis* was not a King of *Argos*, but a Foreigner who came from *Ætolia*, and did indeed do the *Sicyonians* a publick Service, and ſo might poſſibly have his Name recorded in their Regiſtries. *Pauſanias* confirms this Point, for

(*t*) Æſchyl. in Supplic. v. 264.

he

he does not inſert *Apis* amongſt the Kings of *Argos* (*u*), but places *Argus* or *Criaſus* next to *Phoroneus*, omitting *Apis*. Now if we ſtrike *Apis* out of the Roll, and deduct the Years of his Reign, we ſhall bring *Caſtor*'s Opinion 35 Years nearer to the Marble, and leave but a ſmall Difference between them. Upon the whole, *Africanus* obſerved, that the ancient Writers differed in their Sentiments about the Times of *Cecrops*; ſome (he ſays) ſuppoſed him cotemporary with *Prometheus*, *Atlas* and *Epimetheus*; others placed him 60, and others 90 Years after them (*w*). *Clemens Alexandrinus* places *Prometheus*, *Atlas*, *Epimetheus* and *Cecrops*, together in the time of *Triopas* (*x*), and ſo does *Tatian* (*y*), but *Euſebius* ſeems to differ from them in this Particular, and to think *Atlas*, *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*, before *Cecrops* (*z*); how long, he has not told us, nor can we poſſibly gueſs from *Scaliger*'s *Euſebius*'s *Canon*; for he has inſerted *Atlas* twice; 82 Years before *Cecrops* in one Place (*a*), and again with *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus* 31 Years before him in the other (*b*); moſt probably *Euſebius* thought, that *Clemens* and *Tatian* placed him too

(*u*) In Corinthiacis. (*w*) Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 26.
(*x*) Stromat. l. 1. (*y*) Orat. ad Græcos. (*z*) See Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 9. p. 486. (*a*) Num. Euſeb. 379.
(*b*) Num. 430.

early,

early, by making him Cotemporary with *Atlas*, and yet found that ſixty or ninety Years after him would be too late, and ſo choſe a *Medium*, and we find he was far from being ſingular in his Opinion; for the *Parian Chronicon* agrees very nigh, if not exactly with him; ſo that here are two Authorities concurring, which is more than can be found in Favour of any of the other Computations

After *Cecrops* was made King of *Attica*, he endeavour'd to form the People: They were, before his Time, but unſettled and wandering Peaſants, that liv'd up and down the Country, and reap'd the Fruits of the Earth, and took the Cattle for their Uſe when and where they could find them; for this was the wild and diſorderly manner in which the ancient Inhabitants of *Greece* lived (*c*): But *Cecrops* inſtructed his People, and gave them Laws for Society, and taught them how to be of Help and Comfort, and Advantage to one another; and in order to teach them this more fully, he endeavoured to draw them together, and to have them live in a ſettled Habitation, within the reach of his Influence and Inſpection, and therefore taught them to build Houſes, and make a Town or City, which he called *Cecropia* from his own Name. *Strabo* from *Philochorus* ſays (*d*), that *Ce-*

(*c*) Thucyd. Hiſt. l. 1. p. 2. (*d*) Lib. 9.

crops

crops inſtructed his People to build twelve Cities; but if ſuch a Number of Cities were really built by a Prince of this Name, I ſhould think, according to what the moſt learned Dr. *Potter*, the preſent *Lord Biſhop* of *Oxford*, has remarked, that theſe twelve Cities were built by *Cecrops* the ſecond of that Name, and ſeventh King of *Attica*, and not by this firſt *Cecrops* (e). Twelve Cities were not to be attempted at once; it was a great thing to raiſe one from ſo uncultivated a People. The *Scholiaſt* upon *Pindar* (f) reports from *Philochorus*, that *Cecrops* inſtituted a Poll, to ſee how many Subjects he had to begin with, cauſing every Man to caſt a Stone into a Place appointed, and that upon Computation he found them to be in number twenty thouſand; but why may we not think this Particular to belong to the ſecond *Cecrops* alſo, and not to the firſt? I cannot well imagine how *Cecrops* could at firſt get together twenty thouſand of theſe untaught People; or if he could have got them together, how he could well have managed them: It is more likely he would have choſen to begin with a leſs Company: But certainly the Country it ſelf could not at this Time ſupply him with ſo many Men; for if we look to the *Trojan* War, tho' the *Athenians* had been a growing

(e) Archæologia Græca. p. 9. Vol. 1. (f) Olympion. Ode 9.

People all along until that Time; and tho' *Theſeus* vaſtly augmented their Numbers by inviting all Foreigners that could be got into his City (*g*); yet we find the *Athenians* ſent but twenty Ships to *Troy*, in each of which if we ſuppoſe with *Plutarch* a hundred and twenty Men, or which, from the Calculation of our *Engliſh Homer* (*h*), looks more probable, eighty five Men only in each Veſſel, it will appear that *Athens* could then furniſh out at moſt but 6000, or rather 4250 Men, and therefore could not begin with 20000; for conſidering how numerous they made their Armies in theſe early Days, in Proportion to the Numbers of their People, twenty thouſand Men in the Days of the firſt *Cecrops* muſt have made *Athens* able to have furniſhed out a greater Number of Soldiers for an Expedition, in which all *Greece* was forward to engage with its utmoſt Strength: *Cecrops* therefore began his Kingdom, like other *Legiſlators*, with a far leſſer Number of Subjects than the *Scholiaſt* repreſented. *Romulus* at firſt had but few Inhabitants for his City, which became afterwards the Miſtreſs of the World: When he wanted Women to be Wives for his Subjects, ſix hundred eighty three *Sabines*

(*g*) Plutarch. in Theſeo. (*h*) Pope's *Notes upon* Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* Il. 2. *See* Thucydid. Hiſt. l. 1.

were

were a great Supply (*k*); and after that when he had incorporated the People of two Nations (*l*) with his own, the Bulk of his Subjects even then amounted to but ſix thouſand Men. Theſe were the ſmall Beginnings of all Nations in the World; and *Cecrops* muſt be thought to begin his in like manner. One of the Affairs which he took the greateſt Care of, was to inſtruct the People in Religion; for all Authors that ſpeak of him, are expreſs and more particular in this Point than one would expect (*m*), ſo that we may gueſs he was remarkably diligent in this matter. He divided them into four Tribes, Orders, Ranks, or Fraternities, in order to their being capable of performing, each ſort of Men in their Rank and Order, the ſeveral Offices of Civil Life, and he taught them all the Arts of living, which he muſt have been well inſtructed in, by having liv'd in ſo flouriſhing a Kingdom as *Egypt* had been; and he applied himſelf daily to the giving them Laws and Rules for their Actions, and in hearing and deciding all Cauſes of Difference that might ariſe amongſt them, and in encouraging every

(*k*) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 2. p. 97. *All his Number were* 2[illegible] Ibid. p. 86. *Some ſay the* Sabine *Virgins taken were but thirty.* Valerius Antias *makes them* 527: Juba, 683. Plut. in Rom. (*l*) Id. p. 100. (*m*) Euſeb. in Chronic. id. Præp. Evang. l. c. 9. Syncellus p. 153. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 10.

thing

thing that might tend to their living in Peace and good Order, and ſuppreſſing and diſſuading them from all Actions that might interrupt their Happineſs. Before this Time the People of *Attica* made no Marriages, but had their Women in Common; but he reduced them from this wild and brutiſh Extravagance, and taught them each Man to marry one Wife (*n*); and for this Reaſon *Athenæus* and *Juſtin* (*o*) ſay he was called Διφυὴς, or One born of two Parents. Other Writers give other Reaſons for his having this Appellation; but this ſeems by far the beſt: The *Athenians* themſelves have given diverſe Accounts of his having this Name, but they were ſo different, and many of them ſo frivolous, that *Diodorus Siculus* (*p*) concluded that they had loſt the true Account of it. *Cecrops* governed *Attica* fifty Years (*q*). He had a Son and three Daughters; his Son's Name was *Eryſichthon*, his Daughters were *Hirce*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandroſos*. *Eryſichthon* died before his Father, and was buried at *Praſiæ* a City of *Attica* (*r*). *Cecrops* died *A. M.* 2473.

When *Cecrops* died, *Cranaus*, a very potent and wealthy *Attican*, was made King (*ſ*). He had ſeveral Daughters, one

(*n*) Suidas in Περμιν. (*o*) Athenæus Deipnoſoph. l. 13. p. 555. Juſtin. l. 2. c. 6. (*p*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (*q*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*r*) Pauſan. in Atticis. Lib. 1. c. 2. Ibid. c. 31. (*ſ*) Caſtor in Euſeb. Chron. Pauſan. in Atticis,

of which married to *Amphictyon*, who expelled his Father-in-Law *Cranaus* the Kingdom, and made himself King; but in a little time *Erichthonius* made a Party, and depoſed *Amphictyon*; and all this happened in about twenty Years after the Death of *Cecrops*; for according to the Marble (*s*), *Amphictyon* was King within ten Years after *Cecrops*'s Death, and *Erichthonius* within ten more (*t*). *Erichthonius* was an *Egyptian*, and very probably came with *Cecrops* into *Greece*. *Diodorus* ſays, that *Erechtheus* came from *Egypt*, and was made King of *Athens* (*u*); here is only a ſmall Miſtake of the Name, made either by *Diodorus*, or ſome Tranſcriber. *Erechtheus* was the Son of *Pandion*, and Grandſon of *Erichthonius* (*w*), and *Erichthonius* was the Perſon that came from *Egypt*: And agreeable thereto is the Account which the *Greeks* give of him. They ſay he had no mortal Father, but was deſcended from *Vulcan* and the Earth (*x*), *i. e.* he was not a Native of their Country, for they had no Account to give of his Family or Anceſtors, and ſo in Time they made a Fable inſtead of a Genealogy. *Attica* was a barren Country, but *Erichthonius* taught his People to bring Corn from *Egypt* (*y*).

(*s*) Epoch. 5, & 7. (*t*) Epoch. 9. (*u*) Lib. 1. p. 25
(*w*) Caſtor. in Euſeb. Pauſan. ubi ſup. (*x*) Pauſan. ibid.
(*y*) Diodorus Sic. l. 1.

About

About ſixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, and about thirteen Years after *Cecrops*'s Death, *Cadmus* came into *Bœotia* and built *Thebes*, *A. M.* 2486 (*z*): *Tatian* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*a*) thought him much later; but as they offer no Reaſons for their Opinions, ſo certainly they were much miſtaken in this, as they are confeſs'd to be in ſome other Points, which *Euſebius* wrote after them on purpoſe to correct (*b*). *Euſebius* himſelf, if *Scaliger* has indeed placed *Cadmus* according to *Euſebius*'s Meaning, has miſtaken this Point; for *Cadmus* ſtands in the *Chronicon* (*c*) above a hundred Years lower than his true Place, which the Marble ſeems very juſtly to have fixed for us, as may clearly appear by conſidering what *Pauſanias* has given of *Cadmus*'s Family, and comparing that and what *Pauſanias* further offers, with *Caſtor*'s Account of the *Sicyon* Kings. *Labdacus* (*Pauſanias* tells us) was the Grandſon of *Cadmus*, and being a *Minor* when his Father died, he was committed to the Care of *Nyctæus*, who was appointed to be his Guardian, and Regent of his Kingdom (*d*); Now *Nyctæus* was wounded in a Battle with

(*z*) Marmor. Arund. Ep. 7. (*a*) Tatian. orat. ad Græcos. c. 61. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1. (*b*) *See* Euſeb. Πρωοιμ. (*c*) Euſeb. Num. 587. (*d*) Pauſan. in Bœoticis, c. 5.

Epopeus (e). *Epopeus* was the ſeventeenth King of *Sicyon (f)*, and was Cotemporary with the Guardian of *Labdacus*, *Cadmus*'s Grandſon. *Epopeus* reigned *(g)* but thirty five Years; we may therefore ſuppoſe *Polydorus* the Father of *Labdacus* Son of *Cadmus* Cotemporary with *Corax* the Predeceſſor of *Epopeus*, and *Cadmus* the Father of *Polydorus* might begin his Reign in the time of *Echureus* the Predeceſſor of *Corax*; and from the third Year of *Marathonius*, in whoſe Time (according to *Caſtor*) *Cecrops* reign'd at *Athens*, to the Beginning of *Echureus*'s Reign, are but thirty five Years *(h)*: So that ſuppoſing *Cadmus* to come to *Thebes*, according to the Marble, ſixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, we muſt date *Cadmus*'s coming to *Thebes* in the twenty eighth Year of *Echureus*, and thereabouts we muſt place *Cadmus*; becauſe the Grandſon of *Cadmus* was a *Minor* and had a Guardian in the Reign of *Epopeus* who was the ſecond King next after *Echureus*, in whoſe Time we ſuppoſe *Cadmus*. I might offer another Argument to prove that *Cadmus* cannot be later than the Marble ſuppoſes him. *Oenotrus* the younger Son of *Lycaon* led a Colony of the *Pelaſgi* into *Italy* (*i*). Theſe *Pelaſgi* did not go

(*e*) Pauſan. in Corinthiacis c. 6. (*f*) Caſtor. in Chron. Euſeb.
(*g*) Id. ibid. (*h*) Id. ibid. (*i*) Pauſan. in Arcad. c. 3.

into *Italy* until after *Cadmus* had taught the *Greeks* the uſe of Letters; for they convey'd into *Italy* the Knowledge of the Letters which *Cadmus* had taught the *Greeks* (*k*). *Lycaon* the Father of *Oenotrus* reign'd in *Arcadia* at the ſame time that *Cecrops* reigned at *Athens* (*l*). The Marble ſuppoſes that *Cadmus* came into *Greece* about ſixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, and we cannot imagine him later; for if he was later, how could the Son of *Lycaon*, when *Lycaon* was Cotemporary with *Cecrops*, learn *Cadmus*'s Letters time enough to convey the Knowledge of them into a foreign Country?

The Reader may perhaps meet with an Account of *Cadmus*'s Anceſtors, taken in part from *Apollodorus* and other ancient Writers (*m*), which may ſeem to argue *Cadmus* to have liv'd much later than we ſuppoſe him. It is ſaid that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, *Agenor* Son of *Libya* Daughter of *Epaphus*, *Epaphus* Son of *Io* Daughter of *Iaſus*, who was Son of *Triopas* King of *Argos*. *Io* was carried into *Egypt*, and married there. By this Account *Cadmus* will be ſix Deſcents lower than *Triopas*, and conſequently as much later than *Cecrops*, for all Writers agree that *Cecrops* and *Triopas* were Cotemporaries; but

(*k*) Vol. I. B. 4. (*l*) Pauſan. in Arcad. c. 2. (*m*) *See* Prideaux Not. Hiſtoric. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep. 7.

from the former Arguments and Computations we ſuppoſe *Cadmus* to be about ſixty three Years only later than *Cecrops*. But there is an evident Miſtake in this *Genealogy:* There were two *Grecian Io's*, and both of them went into and lived in *Egypt*; the former was *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus*, the latter *Io* was the Daughter of *Iaſus*, and *Cadmus* was deſcended from the former, and not from the latter. If we compute from *Caſtor*'s Table of the *Argive* Kings (*n*), comparing and correcting it in reſpect of *Apis*, whom *Caſtor* has erroneouſly inſerted, by *Pauſanias*'s Account of them (*o*), we ſhall find that *Io* Daughter of *Inachus* is exactly ſix Deſcents higher than *Io* the Daughter of *Iaſus*; ſo that if the computing *Cadmus's* Genealogy from the latter *Io* ſets him almoſt ſix Deſcents too low, as I juſt now remarked, the computing from the former *Io* exactly anſwers and corrects this Miſtake. That the former *Io* went to live in *Egypt* is evident from *Euſebius* (*p*), as it is from *Pauſanias* that the latter did ſo (*q*); and further, it is expreſly remark'd by *Euſebius* that *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus* was the Mother of *Epaphus* (*r*), and therefore this *Io*, and not the Daughter of *Iaſus*, was the Anceſtor of *Cadmus*.

(*n*) Euſeb. in Chronic. (*o*) Pauſanias in Corinthiacis c. xv. xvi. (*p*) Chronic. Can. Num. 160. & 481. (*q*) Pauſan. ubi ſup. (*r*) Euſeb. Num. 481.

It

It is much diſputed by the Learned whether *Cadmus* was a *Phœnician* or an *Egyptian*, and there are Arguments not inconſiderable offered on both ſides; but the true Account of him is, that he was born in *Phœnicia*; his Father was an *Egyptian*, and left *Egypt* about the Time that *Cecrops* came from thence, and he obtained a Kingdom in *Phœnicia* as *Cecrops* did in *Attica*, and his Sons *Phœnix* and *Cadmus* were born after his ſettling in this Country; and hence it came to paſs that *Cadmus* having had an *Egyptian* Father, was brought up in the *Egyptian* Religion, and not a Stranger to the Hiſtory of *Egypt*, which occaſioned many Circumſtances in his Life, which induced After-Writers to think him an *Egyptian*; and at the ſame time being born and educated in *Phœnicia*, he learnt the *Phœnician* Language and Letters, and had a *Phœnician* Name, and from hence has occaſion'd moſt that have wrote of him with good Reaſon to conclude him a *Phœnician*: *Diodorus Siculus* (*a*), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*b*), *Pauſanias* (*c*), and from them (*d*) *Bochart* conclude him to be a *Phœnician*. Sir *John Marſham* and *Dean Prideaux* (*e*) thought him an *Egyptian*.

(*a*) Lib. 4. p. 420. (*b*) Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 363. (*c*) In Boeoticis. (*d*) in Præfat. ad Canaan. (*e*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 118. Prideaux Not. Hiſtor. ad Chron. Marm. p. 155.

Sir *John Marsham* offers one Argument for his being an *Egyptian* from an Inscription found in the Tomb of *Alcmena*, which though it does not seem to prove *Cadmus* an *Egyptian*, nor hardly any thing relating to him, yet I would willingly mention it, in order to take an Opportunity of remarking how artfully the Governors of Kingdoms in these Days made use of Oracles and Prodigies merely as Engins of State, to serve their political Views and Designs. The Tomb of *Alcmena*, Wife of *Amphitryon* and Mother of *Hercules*, was at *Haliartus* a City of *Bœotia*, and being open'd in the Time of *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, there were found in it a brass Bracelet, two earthen Pots which contain'd the Ashes of the Dead, and a Plate of Brass, upon which were inscribed many very odd and antique Letters, too old and unusual to be read by the *Grecian* Antiquaries; the Letters were thought to be *Egyptian*, and therefore *Agesilaus* sent *Agetoridas* into *Egypt*, to the Priests there, desiring them, if they could, to decypher them: *Chronuphis* an *Egyptian* Priest, after three Days examining all the ancient Books and Forms of their Letters, wrote the King word, that the Characters were the same that were used in *Egypt* in the Time of King *Proteus*, and which *Hercules* the Son of *Amphitryon* had learnt, and that the Inscription was an Admonition to the

Greeks

Greeks to leave off their Wars and Conteſts with one another, and to cultivate a Life of Peace and the Study of Arts and Philoſophy. The Meſſengers that were ſent, thought *Chronuphis*'s Advice very ſeaſonable, and they were more confirmed in their Opinion in their Return home, by *Plato*'s asking the Prieſts at *Delos* for ſome Advice from their Oracle, and receiving an Anſwer, which as *Plato* interpreted it, intimated that the *Greeks* ſhould be happy, if they would leave off their Inteſtine Wars, and employ themſelves in cultivating the Study of the Arts and Sciences. This is the Subſtance of *Plutarch*'s Account of this whole Affair (*e*), and I cannot ſee that we have any Light about the Inſcription in the Tomb, nor that we are told to any purpoſe, what the Letters were, or by whom written. The Diſcovery of them happened about the End of the War between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Thebans*, when the *Thebans* loſt their General *Epaminondas* (*f*). At that Time *Ageſilaus* had a Scheme of being hired to command the *Egyptian* Armies againſt the *Perſians*, and the *Egyptians* were fond of having him (*g*), but he could not think it ſafe to go out of *Greece*, unleſs he could be ſure of ſettling a firm and laſting Peace

(*e*) Plut. de Genio Socratis. (*f*) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. VII. p. 661. (*g*) Ibid.

amongſt

amongſt the ſeveral States of it; in order to which he laid hold of this Accident of the antique Inſcription in the Tomb of *Alcmena*, and he and his Meſſengers and *Chronuphis* join'd all together to frame ſuch an Interpretation of it, and to confirm it by a like Order from *Delos*, as might bind the *Greeks* to a Religious Obſervance of the general Peace which was at that Time juſt concluded amongſt them. Had the Braſs Table been truly decyphered, without doubt it contained nothing elſe but an Account of the Perſons whoſe Aſhes were repoſited in the Tomb it was found in, and moſt probably the Letters were ſuch as *Amphitryon* inſcribed upon his *Tripod* at *Thebes (b)*, but it came up luckily to ſerve the political Views of *Ageſilaus* and the *Egyptians*, and ſo the *Egyptians* contriv'd ſuch an Account of it as might render it effectual for that Purpoſe: What became of the Original, we are not informed; probably the *Egyptians* did not ſend it back to have it farther examined. But to return to *Cadmus*.

When *Cadmus* came into *Greece*, he was accompanied by a Number of Followers whom *Herodotus* calls the *Gephyræi (c)*: They were Natives of *Phœnicia*, and went under his Direction to ſeek a new Habitation; a Cuſtom not very un-

(*b*) Herodot. in Terpſichor. c. 59. (*c*) Id. Lib. 5. c. 58.

uſual

ſual in theſe Days. When they came into *Greece*, they were at firſt oppoſed by the Inhabitants of the Country; but being better Soldiers than the raw and ignorant *Bœotians*, they eaſily conquer'd them. *Bœotia* was inhabited at the time of *Cadmus*'s coming into it by the *Hyantes* and the *Aones*; one of theſe, the *Hyantes*, *Cadmus* intirely routed, and compelled them to flee out of the Country; but he came to Terms of Accommodation with the *Aones* (*d*), and having bought a Cow, and marked her according to the ſuperſtitious Ceremonies of the *Egyptian* Religion (*e*), he pretended he had a ſpecial Command from the Gods, to build a City where the Cow, which he order'd his Companions to drive gently into the Country, ſhould lie down when weary; and ſo where the Cow lay down he built a City and called it *Cadmea*, and here he ſettled with his Companions; giving the *Aones* free Liberty, either to come and live in his City, and incorporate with his People, or to live in the little Villages and Societies which they had formed, in the manner they had been uſed to before he came into their Country (*f*). It is commonly ſaid that *Cadmus* began his Travels by his Father's Order,

(*d*) Pauſan. in Bœoticis, c. 5. (*e*) Id. ibid. c. 12. *See* Prideaux Not. ad Chronic. Marmor. (*f*) Pauſanias in Bœoticis, c. 5.

in

in Search of his Siſter *Europa* (*g*); but ſome conſiderable Writers think this a Fiction (*h*), and *Pauſanias* hints *Europa* not to have been the Daughter of *Agenor*, but of *Phœnix* (*i*). *Ovid* relates at large an Account of *Cadmus*'s Followers being devoured by a Serpent, that *Cadmus* killed the Serpent, and ſowed his Teeth in the Ground, and that there ſprang from theſe Serpent's Teeth a Number of armed Men, who as ſoon as they were grown up out of the Ground, fell to fighting one another, and were all killed except five, and that theſe five, who ſurvived the Conflict, went with *Cadmus* and aſſiſted him in building *Thebes* (*k*). I am ſenſible that the Men that ever believed this ſtrange Story, may be juſtly thought as weak as the Fiction is marvellous; but there are Hints of it in Writers not ſo poetically inclin'd as *Ovid*, and there is room to conjecture what might give the firſt Riſe to ſo wild and extravagant a Fable. When *Cadmus* come into *Bœotia*, and had conquer'd the Inhabitants of it, it might be recorded of him, in the *Phœnician* or *Hebrew* Language, which anciently were the ſame, That He [עשה חיל חמש אנשים נושקים בשני נחש] *Naſhah Chail Chameſh Anoſhim, Noſhekim be Shenei Nachaſh* — Theſe Words might

(*g*) Diodorus Sic. l. 4. (*h*) *See* Prideaux not. ad Chron. Marmor. Epoch. 7. (*i*) In Achaicis c. 4. (*k*) Metamorph. Lib. 3. Fab. 1.

begin

begin the Account, and in theſe Words there are the following Ambiguities. *Chameſh* ſignifies Warlike or prepared for War, and a Word of the ſame Letters (*l*) may be tranſlated Five. *Shenei* may ſignify Spears, or it may be rendred Teeth. *Nachaſh* is the *Hebrew* Word for a Serpent, or for Braſs, and theſe Words being thus capable of denoting very different Things, a fabulous Tranſlator might ſay (*m*), *He raiſed a Force of five Men armed from the Teeth of a Serpent*, when the Words ought to have been tranſlated, *he raiſed a warlike Force of Men*, [or an Army] *armed with Spears of Braſs*. The *Greeks* in the *Mythological* Times were particularly fond of diſguiſing all their ancient Accounts with Fable and Allegory, and it is no wonder that they gave the Hiſtory of *Cadmus* this Turn, when the Words in which his Actions were recorded, gave them ſo fair an Opportunity. *Cadmus* is ſaid to have found out the Art of working Metals and making Armour (*n*), and I imagine that ſome of his Companions were the *Idæi Dactyli* mentioned by *Pauſanias*, *Diodorus*,

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(*l*) *We may eaſily apprehend, that in a Language where the Vowels were originally not written, many Words of exactly the ſame Letters, muſt have a very different Signification. If we were to write our* Engliſh *Words in Conſonants only, leaving the Reader to ſupply the Vowels, as the* Hebrew *was anciently written, our own Tongue would afford many Inſtances.* (*m*) *See* Bocharti Canaan. l. 1. c. 19. (*n*) Plin. Lib. 7. p. 56.

Strabo

Strabo, and other Writers; for theſe *Idæi Dactyli* made their firſt Appearance near Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia* (*o*), and *Cadmus* travell'd this Way from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, going out of *Aſia* into *Thrace*, and from thence into *Greece*. *Cadmus* and his Companions introduced the Uſe of the *Phœnician* Letters into *Greece*, their Alphabet conſiſting of ſixteen Letters only (*p*).

Danaus was another conſiderable Perſon, who travell'd about this Time from *Egypt* into *Greece*, and the ancient Writers agree pretty well in their Accounts of him. *Chemnis*, ſays *Herodotus* (*q*), is a large City near *Nea*, in *Thebais*; and the *Egyptians* ſay that *Danaus* and *Lynceus* were of *Chemnis*, and that they ſailed into *Greece*. *Apollodorus* (*r*) agreeing with the *Parian* Marble, ſays, that *Danaus* built a Ship and fled with it from *Egypt*. *Diodorus* gives a larger Account of him (*ſ*), that he came from *Egypt* to *Rhodes* with his Daughters, that three of his Daughters died at *Rhodes*, that the reſt went with him to *Argos*. *Pauſanias* relates that *Danaus* came from *Egypt*, and obtained the Kingdom of *Argos* from *Gelanor* the Son of *Sthenelus* (*t*). *Danaus* was himſelf de-

(*o*) Diodor. Sic. l. 5. (*p*) *See* Vol. I. B. IV. (*q*) Lib. 2. c. 91. (*r*) Lib. 2. p. 63. (*ſ*) Hiſt. l. 5. (*t*) Pauſan. in Corinthiacis, c. 16. c. 19.

ſcended

ſcended from a *Grecian* Anceſtor. *Io* the Daughter of *Iaſus* King of *Argos* married into *Egypt*, and when *Iaſus* died, his Brother's Children came to the Crown, *Iaſus* having no other Child but *Io*, and ſhe being abſent and married into a foreign Country: *Gelanor* was a Deſcendant of *Iaſus*'s Brother, *Danaus* of *Iaſus* by *Io* his Daughter, and this muſt be the Plea which he had to offer the *Argives* to induce them to accept him for their King. The Diſpute between him and *Gelanor* before the People of *Argos*, upon this Point, was argued at large on both Sides for a whole Day, and *Gelanor* was thought to have offered as weighty and ſtrong Arguments for his own Right, as *Danaus* could offer for his, and the next Day was appointed for the further hearing and determining their Claims, when an Accident put an end to the Diſpute, and obtained *Danaus* the Crown. There happened a Fight between a Wolf and a Bull near the Place where the People were aſſembled, and the Wolf conquering the Bull, the Crown was hereupon adjudged to *Danaus*. The Combat was thought ominous, and the Wolf being a Creature they were leſs acquainted with than the Bull, it was thought to be the Will of the Gods, declared by the Event of this accidental Combat, that the Stranger ſhould rule over them. And thus their Superſtition made

made them unanimous in a Point of the greateſt Moment, which perhaps they would not elſe have determined without creating great Factions among themſelves: A Caſe ſomewhat like what happen'd in *Perſia*, when *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* was made King. His Horſe being the firſt that neighed ſeem'd unqueſtionably to give him, in the Eyes of his ſuperſtitious Subjects, a better Title to the Throne, and perhaps a ſecurer Poſſeſſion of it, than any other Agreement which he and his Princes could have made, that had not had ſo appearing a Countenance from Religion (*p*). *Danaus* came into *Greece*, when *Erichthonius* was King of *Athens*, 1247 Years before the *Parian Chronicon* was compoſed (*q*), *i.e.* *A. M.* 2494, about eight Years after *Cadmus* came into *Bœotia*. *Caſtor*'s Account of *Danaus*'s coming to *Argos*, if we take out of it the Years aſſigned to *Apis*'s Reign (*r*), agrees well with this Computation from the *Parian Chronicon*. He computed that *Inachus* began to reign at *Argos* when *Thurimachus* was King of *Sicyon*, *i.e.* about *A. M.* 2154 (*ſſ*); from the firſt Year of *Inachus* (including the Reign of *Apis*) he reckons 382 Years to the Death of *Sthenelus*, which would place *Danaus*

(*p*) Herodot. l. 3. Juſtin. l. 1. c. 10. Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. 3. (*q*) Epoch. Marmor. 9. (*r*) Vid. quæ ſupra (*ſſ*) Vide quæ ſupra.

A. M

A.M. 2536; but if we deduct thirty five Years for the Inſertion of *Apis*'s Reign, it will place him *A. M.* 2501, ſeven Years only later than the Marble.

There can be but very little offered about the Affairs of *Greece*, before the Times that theſe Men came to ſettle in it; tho' it is certain that *Greece* was inhabited long before theſe Days, and that in ſome Parts of it Kingdoms were erected, and Men of great Figure and Eminence lived in them. *Ægialeus* began a Kingdom at *Sicyon A.M.* 1920 *(a)*, above 500 Years before *Cecrops* came to *Athens*, during which Interval they had 13 Kings according to *Caſtor (b)*, and *Pauſanias* found Memoirs of the Lives and Families of 12 of them *(c)*. *Inachus* erected a Kingdom at *Argos A. M.* 1854 *(d)*, 269 Years before *Cecrops*, and they had ſix Kings in this Interval *(e)*; and theſe Accounts are in all reſpects ſo reaſonable in themſelves, and do ſo well ſuit with every Fragment of ancient Hiſtory, that no one can fairly reject them, unleſs Antiquity alone be a ſufficient Reaſon for not admitting Annals of ſo long ſtanding. Kingdoms did not begin ſo early in other Parts of *Greece*, but we find *Theſſalus* a King of *Theſſaly A. M.* 2332, his Father's

(a) *See above* Book VI. (b) In Chronic. Euſeb. Part I. (c) In Corinthiacis. (d) *See* Book VI. (e) Caſtor & Pauſan.

Name was *Graicus* (*f*); *Deucalion* reigned King there *A. M.* 2431, *i. e.* eight Years after *Cecrops* came to *Athens* (*g*); *Ogyges* reigned in *Attica* about *A. M.* 2244 (*h*), and the Deſcendants of *Telchin* third King of *Sicyon* went and ſettled in the Iſland *Rhodes A. M.* 2284 (*i*). *Prometheus* lived about *A. M.* 2340. He was fabulouſly reported to have made Men, becauſe he was a very wiſe Man, and new formed the ignorant by his Precepts and Inſtructions (*k*); we have no certain Account in what Part of *Greece* he lived. *Callithyia* was the firſt Prieſteſs of *Juno* at *Argos*, *A. M.* 2381 (*l*). *Atlas* lived about *A. M.* 2385; he was a moſt excellent Aſtronomer for the Times he lived in, and his great Skill this way occaſioned it to be ſaid of him in After-Ages, That he ſupported the Heavens (*m*). He lived near *Tanagra* a City upon the River *Iſmenus* in *Bœotia* (*n*); and near to this Place his Poſterity were ſaid to be found, by the Writers of After-Ages. *Homer* ſuppoſes *Calypſo* a Deſcendant of this *Atlas*, who detained *Ulyſſes* to be Queen of an Iſland (*o*),

———Ὄθι τ' ὀμφαλὸς ἐϛὶ θαλάσσης
Νῆσος ἐνδρήεσσα·

(*f*) Euſeb. Chron. Num. 224. (*g*) Id. Marm. Arundel. Epoch. 4. (*h*) Euſeb. Chron. Num. 236. (*i*) Id. Num. 276. (*k*) Id. Num. 332. (*l*) Id. Num. 375. (*m*) Id. Num. 379. (*n*) Pauſan. in Bœoticis c. 20. (*o*) Odyſſ. 1. ver. 50. *i. e.*

i. e. of the Iſland *Atalanta* near the *Sinus Meliacus* in the *Euripus (p)*, over-againſt *Opus (q)*, a City of *Bœotia*.

The ſeveral Kingdoms that were raiſed in the other Parts of *Greece*, began not much before or after *Cecrops* came to *Attica*. *Pelaſgus* was the firſt King of *Arcadia*, and his Son *Lycaon* was cotemporary with *Cecrops (r)*. *Actæus*, whom *Cecrops* ſucceeded, was the firſt King of *Attica (s)*. *Athlius* was the firſt King of *Elis*; he was the Grandſon of *Deucalion*, and therefore later than *Cecrops (t)*. *Ephyre* Daughter of *Oceanus* is ſaid to have firſt governed the *Corinthians (u)*, but we know nothing more of her than her Name. The *Corinthian* Hiſtory muſt begin from *Marathon*, who was the Son of *Epopeus*, and planted a Colony in this Country. *Epopeus* lived about the Times of *Cadmus*; for he fought with, and wounded

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(p) Wells's *Map of the mid Parts of ancient* Greece.

(q) *See* Strabo Geograph. l. 1. c. 9. *The Reader will, I am ſenſible, find but little Certainty of the Situation of* Calypſo's *Iſland*: Solon *gave an Account, that there was really ſuch a Place when* Homer *wrote, but that it is ſince his Time ſunk in the Sea,* i. e. *he could not tell where to find it. Some Writers place it near to* Egypt. *All I can offer for my ſuppoſed Situation of it, is, The Iſland* Atalanta *in the* Euripus *hits* Homer's *Deſcription exactly,* ὀμφαλὸς ὅτι θαλάσσης, *better than any other Iſland ſuppoſed to be the Place, and it lies near the Country where* Pauſanias *informs us that* Atlas *the Father of* Calypſo *lived, and* Ulyſſes's *Voyages as deſcribed by* Homer *may be well reconciled with this Poſition of it.*

(r) Pauſanias in Arcadicis. (s) Id. in Atticis. (t) Id. in Eliacis. (u) Id. in Corinthiacis.

Nycteus, who was Guardian to *Labdacus* the Grandſon of *Cadmus (x)*, and therefore *Marathon* the Son of *Epopeus* muſt come to *Corinth* many Years later than *Cadmus* came into *Greece*. *Phocus* was the firſt King of *Phocis (y)*, and he was five Deſcents younger than *Marathon*; for *Ornytion* was Father of *Phocus* (*z*), *Siſyphus* was Father of *Ornytion* (*a*); *Siſyphus* ſucceeded *Jaſon* and *Medea* in the Kingdom of *Corinth*, and *Jaſon* and *Medea* ſucceeded *Corinthus* the Son of *Marathon (b)*, ſo that the Inhabitants of *Phocis* became a People, ſeveral Generations later than *Cadmus*. *Lelex* formed the *Lacedemonians* much earlier; for *Menelaus*, who warred at *Troy*, was their eleventh King, ſo that *Lelex* reigned about the Times of *Cecrops (c)*. The *Meſſenians* lived at firſt in little Neighbourhoods, but at the Death of *Lelex* the firſt King of *Sparta*, *Polycaon* one of his Sons became King of this Country (*d*). Theſe were the firſt Beginnings of the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Greece*; and before the Perſons I have mentioned formed them for Society, the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Parts of it lived a wandring Life, reaping ſuch Fruits of the Earth as grew ſpontaneouſly, each Father managing his own Family or little Company; and having little or no

(*x*) Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 6. (*y*) Pauſanias in Phocicis
(*z*) Id. in Corinth. c. 4. (*a*) Id. ibid. (*b*) Id. ibid. c. 3
(*c*) Id. in Laconicis. (*d*) Id. in Meſſeniacis.

Acquain-

Acquaintance with one another, like the *Cyclopes* in *Homer (e)*; or, where moſt civilized, like the Men of *Laiſh*, *they dwelt careleſs after the manner of the* Zidonians *quiet and ſecure, and there was no Magiſtrate in the Land, that might put them to Shame in any thing; and they had no Buſineſs with any Man.*

Moſt Writers, that have mentioned either *Ogyges* or *Deucalion*, have recorded a Deluge to have happened in each of their Kingdoms; *Attica*, they ſay, was overflowed in the Reign of *Ogyges*, and *Theſſaly* in the Reign of *Deucalion*; but it is moſt reaſonable to think, that there were no extraordinary Floods in either of theſe Countries in the Times of *Deucalion* or *Ogyges*, but that what the Heathen Writers offer about theſe ſuppoſed Deluges, were only ſuch Hints as came down to their Hands of the univerſal Deluge in the Days of *Noah*. *Attica*, in which *Ogyges*'s Flood is ſuppoſed to have happened, is ſo high ſituated, that it is hard to imagine any Inundation of Waters here, unleſs the greateſt Part of the World were drowned at the

(e) Homer Odyſſ 9. v. 108.

Οὔτε φυτεύσι χερσὶ φυτὸν, ἤτ' ἀρόωσιν·
Ἀλλ' οἵγ' ἰφθιμων ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
Ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι. θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
Παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων· οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

ſame Time; its Rivers are but few, and even the largeſt of them almoſt without Water in Summer time (*f*); and its Hills are ſo many, that it cannot well be conceived how its Inhabitants ſhould periſh in a Deluge particularly confined to this Country. *Hieronymus* in his *Latin* Verſion of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, ſeems to have been ſenſible that no ſuch Flood could be well ſuppoſed to have happened in *Attica*, and therefore he removes the Story into *Egypt* (*g*), ſuppoſing *Egypt* to have ſuffered a Deluge in the time of *Ogyges*'s Reign: But the moſt learned Dean *Prideaux* (*h*) remarks from *Suidas* (*i*), and *Heſychius* (*k*), that the *Greeks* uſed the Word (Ὠγύγιον) *Ogygian* proverbially, to ſignify any thing which happened in the moſt ancient Times; and therefore by the Flood of *Ogyges* they meant, not any particular Deluge, which overflowed his or any other ſingle Country, but only ſome very ancient Flood, which happened in the moſt early Times, and ſuch was the Flood of *Noah*. The *Greek* Chronology of the early Ages was very imperfect; they had ſome Hints, that there had been an univerſal Deluge; they apprehended nothing to be

(*f*) Strabo Geogr. l. 9. p. 400. (*g*) *His Words are*, Diluvium *Ægypti* hoc Tempore fuit, quod factum eſt ſub *Ogyge*.
(*h*) Not. Hiſtoric. ad Chronic. Marm. (*i*) Suidas in Voc. Ὠγύγιον. (*k*) Heſych. in Ὠγύγιον.

more

more ancient than the Times of *Ogyges*, and therefore they called this Deluge by his Name, not intending hereby to hint that it happened preciſely in his Days, but only intimating it to have been in the moſt early Times. As to *Deucalion*'s Flood, *Cedrenus* and *Johannes Antiochenus* were of Opinion that *Deucalion* left his People a written Hiſtory of the univerſal Deluge, and that their Poſterity many Ages after his Death, imagined his Account to be a Relation of what happened in the Times he lived in, and ſo called the Flood, which he treated of, by his Name (*l*); but to this it is very juſtly objected, that Letters were not in uſe in *Greece* ſo early as *Deucalion*'s Days; ſo that it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he could leave any Memoirs or Inſcriptions of what had happened before his Time; but then a ſmall Correction of what is hinted from *Cedrenus* and *Antiochenus* will ſet this matter in its true Light. *Deucalion* taught the *Greeks* Religion, and the great Argument which he uſed to perſuade his People to the Fear of the Deity, was taken from the Accounts which he had received of the Univerſal Deluge; ſome Hints of which were handed down into all Nations: But as the *Greeks* were in theſe Times not skilled in Writing, ſo it

(*l*) Prideaux in Notis Hiſtoricis ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 1.

is eaſy to imagine, that *Deucalion* and the Deluge might, by Tradition, be mentioned together, longer than it could be remembred whether he only diſcourſed of it to his People, or was himſelf a Perſon concerned in it. It is remarkable, that whenever the Prophane Writers give us any Particulars of either the Flood of *Ogyges*, or of that of *Deucalion*, they are much the ſame with what is recorded of *Noah*'s Deluge. *Solinus* and *Apollonius* hint, that the Flood of *Ogyges* laſted about nine Months (*m*), and ſuch a ſpace of Time *Moſes* allots to the Deluge (*n*). *Deucalion* is repreſented to have been a juſt and virtuous Man, and for that Reaſon to have been ſaved from periſhing, when the reſt of Mankind were deſtroyed for their Wickedneſs (*o*); and this agrees to what *Moſes* ſays of *Noah* (*p*). *Deucalion* preſerved only himſelf, his Wife, and his Children (*q*); and theſe were the Perſons ſaved by *Noah* (*r*). *Deucalion* built an Ark, being forewarned of the Deſtruction that was coming upon Mankind (*s*); and this *Moſes* relates of *Noah* (*t*). The taking two of every Kind of the living Creatures

(*m*) See Prideaux Not. Hiſt. ad Chron. Marm. (*n*) Gen. vii. viii. See Vol. I. B. 1. & 2. (*o*) Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ Ovid. Metam. l. 1. (*p*) Gen. vi. 5, 9. (*q*) Ovid. ub. ſup. Lucian in Timone. (*r*) Gen. vii. 7. (*s*) Apollodorus l. 1. Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ. (*t*) Gen. 13, 14.

int

into the Ark (*u*); the Ark's reſting upon a Mountain when the Waters abated (*w*); the ſending a Dove out of the Ark, to try whether the Waters were abated or no (*x*); all theſe Circumſtances are related of *Deucalion*, by the Heathen Writers, almoſt exactly as *Moſes* remarks them in his Account of *Noah*: And as *Moſes* relates, that *Noah*, as ſoon as the Flood was over, built an Altar, and offered Sacrifices, ſo theſe Writers ſay likewiſe of *Deucalion* (*y*); affirming that he built τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερὸν, or an Altar (for theſe were the moſt ancient Places of Worſhip) to the *Olympian Jupiter*. Upon the whole, the Circumſtances related of *Noah*'s Flood, and of *Deucalion*'s, do ſo far agree, that our learned Countryman Sir *W. Raleigh* profeſſed, that he *ſhould verily believe*, that the Story of *Deucalion*'s Flood, *was only an Imitation of* Noah's *Flood deviſed by the* Greeks, *did not the Times ſo much differ, and St.* Auguſtin *with others of the Fathers and reverend Writers, approve the Story of* Deucalion. As to the Difference of the Times, certainly no great Streſs can be laid upon it: The *Greeks* were ſo inaccurate in their *Chronology* of what happened ſo early as *Deucalion*, that

(*u*) Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ. (*w*) Stephanus Etymolog. in Πλάτανος Θ. Suidas in Voc. ead. Ovid. Metam. l. 1. (*x*) Plut. in lib. de ſolertiâ Animalium. (*y*) Pauſan. in Atticis. c. 18.

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it is no wonder if they were impoſed upon, and aſcribed to his Days, Things done above ſeven hundred Years before him; and I cannot but think, that St. *Auſtin*, and the other learned Writers, that have mentioned either the Flood of *Ogyges* or of *Deucalion*, would have taken both of them to have been only different Repreſentations of the Deluge; if, beſides what has been offered, they had conſidered, that we read but of one ſuch Flood as theſe having ever happened in either *Deucalion*'s or *Ogyges*'s Country. If the Floods called by their Names, were not the one Univerſal Deluge brought upon the ancient World, for the Wickedneſs of its Inhabitants, then they muſt have proceeded from ſome Cauſes, which both before and ſince might, and would in a Series of ſome thouſands of Years, have ſubjected theſe Countries to ſuch Inundations: But we have no Accounts of any that have ever happened here, except theſe two only, in each Country one, and no more; ſo that it is moſt probable that in *Attica*, and in *Theſſaly*, they had a Tradition that there had anciently been a Deluge; their want of *Chronology* had rendred the Time when extremely uncertain, and ſome Circumſtances not duely weighed, or not perfectly underſtood, determined their Writers in After-Ages to call this Deluge in the one Country the Flood of *Ogyges*, in the other the Flood of *Deucalion*.

Accor-

According to the *Parian Chronicon* (*a*), a Perſon named *Mars* was tried at *Athens* for the Murther of *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune*, in the Reign of *Cranaus* the Succeſſor of *Cecrops*, about *A. M.* 2473; and it is remarked, that the Place of Trial was named *Arius Pagus*, and this was the Beginning of the Senate or Court of *Areopagus* at *Athens*, which was inſtituted, according to this Account, ſoon after *Cecrops*'s Death, in the very firſt Year of his Succeſſor. *Æſchylus* had a very different Opinion of the Origin of the Name and Time of erecting this Court. He ſays the Place was named *Areopagus* from the *Amazons* offering Sacrifices there to Ἄρης or *Mars*, and he ſuppoſes *Oreſtes* to have been the firſt Perſon tried before the Court erected there (*b*): But it is evident from *Apollodorus* (*c*), that *Cephalus* was tried here for the Death of *Procris*, and *Procris* was the Daughter of *Erechtheus* the ſixth King of *Athens* (*d*). And the ſame Author ſays, that *Dædalus* was alſo tried here for the Death of *Talus* (*e*), and *Dædalus* lived about the Time (*f*) of *Minos* King of *Crete*; ſo that both theſe Inſtances ſhew, that *Æſchylus* was much miſtaken about the Antiquity of the Court of *Areopagus*, and he may therefore

(*a*) Ep. 3. (*b*) Eumenid. v. 690. (*c*) L. 3. p. 200. (*d*) Pauſanias in Phocicis, c. 29. (*e*) Apollodorus l. 3. p. 206. (*f*) Pauſanias in Achaicis, c. 4.

well be conceived to be ill informed of the true Origin of its Name. *Cicero* hints that *Solon* firſt erected this Court (*ff*), and *Plutarch* was fond of the ſame Opinion (*g*), even tho' he could not but confeſs that there were Arguments againſt it which, I think, muſt appear unanſwerable. For he himſelf cites a Law of *Solon*, in which the Court of *Areopagus* is expreſly named in ſuch a manner as to evidence that Perſons had been convened before it before *Solon*'s Days (*h*). *Solon* did indeed by his Authority, make ſome Alteration in the Ancient Conſtitution of this Court both as to the Number and Quality of thoſe who were to be the Judges in it, and as to the Manner of electing them: And all this *Ariſtotle* remarks of him (*i*) expreſly ſaying at the ſame time, that *Solon* neither erected nor diſſolved this Court, but only gave ſome new Laws for the Regulating it. *Æſchylus* thought this Court more an-

(*ff*) De Offic. l. 1. c. 22. (*g*) In Vit. Solon. p. 88.

(*h*) Plut. in Solon, *his Words are* Ὁ δὲ τεισκαιδέκατος ἄξων τῶν Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τὸν νόμον ὕτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον· Ἀτίμων ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνος ἄρξαι, ἐντίμους εἶναι, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου κατακριθέντες ——— ἔφυγον· N. B. *The Party accuſed in the Court of* Areopagus *had leave to ſecure himſelf by Flight, and go into Voluntary Baniſhment, if he ſuſpected Judgment would be given againſt him, provided he made uſe of this Liberty before the Court entered into the Proofs of the Merits of his Cauſe; and by* Solon's *Law, the Perſon who had claimed this Privilege, was to be for ever infamous.* (*i*) Ariſtot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

cien

cient than the Times of *Solon*, but *Apollodorus* carries up the Accounts of it much higher than *Æſchylus*, to *Minos*'s Times, and to *Erechtheus*, who reigned about one hundred Years after the Times when the Marble ſuppoſes the Trial of *Mars*, and the Trial of *Mars* there for the Death of *Halirrothius* is reported by many of the beſt ancient Writers (*k*). The number of the Judges of this Court at its firſt Origin were twelve (*l*), and the King was always one of them; their Authority was ſo great, and by their upright Determinations they acquired themſelves ſo great a Reputation, that their Poſterity called them Gods; and thus *Apollodorus* ſays, that *Mars* was acquitted by the twelve Gods (*m*). The Number of theſe Judges varied according to the different Circumſtances of the *Athenian* Government; ſometimes they were but nine, at other times thirty one; and fifty one. When *Socrates* was condemn'd, they were two hundred eighty one, and when *Rufus Feſtus* the *Proconſul* of *Greece* was honoured with a Pillar erected at *Athens*, it was hinted on that Pillar, that the Senate of *Areopagus* conſiſted of three hundred (*n*); and from hence it is very proba-

(*k*) Pauſan. in Atticis. Stephanus, Suidas, & Phavorinus in Ἄρειος Πάγος. (*l*) Apollodor. l. 3. p. 193.
(*m*) Ibid. (*n*) Potter's *Antiquities.*

ble,

ble, that the firſt Conſtitution of the City directed them to appoint twelve Judges of this Court; perhaps *Cecrops* divided his People into twelve Wards or Diſtricts, appointing a Preſident over each Ward, and theſe Governours of the ſeveral Diſtricts of the City were the firſt Judges of the Court of *Areopagus*. That *Cecrops* divided his People into twelve Diſtricts ſeems very probable, from its being ſaid of him, that he built twelve Cities (*o*): For they ſay alſo, that all the twelve united at laſt into one; ſo that it looks moſt probable, that *Cecrops* only parted the People in order to manage them the more eaſily, appointing ſome to live under the Direction of one Perſon, whom he appointed to rule for him, and ſome under another, taking the largeſt Number under his own immediate Care, and himſelf inſpecting the Management of the reſt: And theſe Deputy Governours, together with the King, were by *Cranaus* formed into a Court for the joint Government of the whole People. And as the Government came into more Hands, or was put into fewer, the Number of the *Areopagite* Judges leſſened or encreaſed. This Court had the Cognizance of all Cauſes, that more particularly concerned the Welfare of the State; and under this Head all Innovations in Religion

(*o*) Strabo, l. 9.

were

were in time brought before the Judges of it. *Socrates* was condemned by them, for holding Opinions contrary to the Religion of his Country; and St. *Paul* ſeems to have been queſtioned before them about his Doctrines (*p*), being thought by them *to be a ſetter forth of ſtrange Gods.* Many learned Writers have given large Accounts of the Conſtitution and Proceedings of this Court (*a*), which obtained the higheſt Reputation in all Countries where the *Athenians* were known. *Cicero* ſays, that the World may as well be ſaid to be governed without the Providence of the Gods, as the *Athenian* Republic without the Deciſions of the Court of *Areopagus* (*b*); and their Determinations were reputed to be ſo upright, that *Pauſanias* informs us, that even Foreign States voluntarily ſubmitted their Controverſies to theſe Judges (*c*). And *Demoſthenes* ſays of this Court, that to his Time, no one had ever complained of any unjuſt Sentence given by the Judges of it (*d*). But it belongs to my Deſign, only to endeavour to fix the Time of its firſt Riſe, and not to purſue at large the Accounts which are given of the Proceedings of it.

(*p*) Acts xvii. 19. (*a*) *See Biſhop* Potter's *Antiquities of* Greece. (*b*) De Nat. Deorum lib. 2. (*c*) In Meſſeniac. (*d*) In Ariſtocrat.

The

The Council of the *Amphictyones* was firſt inſtituted by *Amphictyon* the Son of *Deucalion*, about *A. M.* 2483 (*e*). *Deucalion* was King of *Theſſaly*, and his Son *Amphictyon* ſucceeded him in his Kingdom. *Amphictyon*, when he came to reign, ſummoned all the People together, who lived round about him, in order to conſult with them for the public Welfare; they met at the *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*, for by either of theſe Names they called the Streights of Mount *Oeta* in *Theſſaly*; for through this narrow Paſſage was the only Entrance into this Country from *Greece*, and therefore they were called Πύλαι, *Pylæ*, or the Gates or Doors, that being the Signification of the Word (*f*); and *Thermopylæ*, becauſe there were many Springs of hot Waters in theſe Paſſages, the *Greek* Word Θερμὸς ſignifying hot (*g*); and here *Amphictyon* met his People twice a Year, to conſult with them, to redreſs any Grievances they might labour under, and to form Schemes for the public Good. This ſeems to have been the firſt Deſign of the Council of the *Amphictyones*, ſo called from *Amphictyon*, the Perſon who firſt appointed it; or ſome Writers imagine, that the Coaſſeſſors in this Council were called Ἀμφικτυόνες, becauſe they came out of ſeveral

(*e*) Marmor. Arundell. Ep. 5. (*f*) Strabo, l. 9. p. 428.
(*g*) Id. lib. eod. p. 420.

Part

Parts of the circumjacent Countries. This was the Opinion of *Androtion* in *Pauſanias* (*h*); but the beſt Writers generally embrace the former Account of the Name of this Council, and it ſeems to be the moſt natural. Tho' *Amphictyon* firſt formed this Council out of the People that lived under his Government, and for the public Good of his own Kingdom, yet in time it was compoſed of the Members of different Nations, and they met with larger and more extenſive Views, than to ſettle the Affairs of one Kingdom. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays, that the Deſign of it was to cultivate an Alliance of the *Græcian* States with one another, in order to render them more able to engage with any Foreign Enemy (*i*). When the Deſign was thus enlarged, the Deputies of ſeveral Cities were appointed to meet (*k*) twice a Year, at Spring, and at Autumn. *Strabo* agrees with *Æſchines* and *Suidas*, and computes the Cities that ſent Deputies to this meeting to be twelve, but *Pauſanias* enumerates ten only (*l*); it is moſt probable, that the States that agreed to meet in this Council were at firſt but few, only thoſe who lived near to *Thermopylæ*; in time more Nations joined in Alliance with

(*h*) Lib. 10. c. 8. (*i*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 4. c. 25. (*k*) Æſchinis Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας. Suidas in voc. Ἀμφικτύονες. (*l*) In Phocicis, c. 8.

them, and ſent their Agents to this Meeting, and they might be but ten when the Accounts were taken from which *Pauſanias* wrote; and they might be twelve, when the Hints from which *Strabo*, *Suidas*, and the Writers that agree with them wrote, were given. *Acriſius* King of *Argos*, who reigned above two hundred Years later than *Amphictyon*, compoſed ſome Laws or Orders for the better regulating this Council, and for the Diſpatch of the Affairs that were laid before the Members of it, and what he did of this ſort, occaſioned ſome Writers to imagine, that he might poſſibly be the firſt Inſtitutor of this Council (*m*); but *Strabo* juſtly hints that he was thought ſo, only for want of ſufficient Memoirs of what had been appointed before his Times (*n*). *Acriſius* did indeed in many Reſpects new regulate this Meeting, he ſettled a number of written Laws for the Calling and Management of it; he determined what Cities ſhould ſend Deputies to it, and how many each City, and what Affairs ſhould be laid before the Council (*o*); and it is eaſy to conceive, that his having made theſe Regulations, might occaſion him to be thought in After-ages the firſt Inſtitutor of the Aſſembly. The

(*m*) Strabo l. 9. (*n*) Id. ibid. τὰ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἀγνῶ-ῆται. (*o*) Prideaux Not. Hiſtor. ad Chron. Marm.

Regulations

Regulations made by *Acriſius* were punctually obſerved, and the ſeveral Cities who had Votes according to his Conſtitutions continued to meet without any Obſtruction, until the Time of *Philip* King of *Macedon* the Father of *Alexander the Great*, each City having two Votes in the Council and no more (*p*); but in *Philip*'s Reign the *Phocians* and *Dorians* were excluded the Council for plundering the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and the two Votes belonging to the *Dorians* were given to the *Macedonians*, who were then taken into the Number of the *Amphictyones* (*q*). About ſixty ſeven Years after this, the *Phocians* defended the Temple at *Delphos* with ſo much Bravery againſt the *Gauls*, that they were reſtored to their Votes again; and the *Dolopians* at this time being in Subjection to the *Macedonians*, were reckoned but as a Part of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and the *Macedonian* Deputies were ſaid to be their Repreſentatives; and the Votes, which they had in the Council before their incorporating with the *Macedonians*, were now taken from them and given to the *Phocians* (*r*). The *Perrhæbians* likewiſe about the ſame Time became ſubject to the *Macedonians*, and ſo

(*p*) Æſchines in Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας. (*q*) Diodor. Sic. l. 15. Pauſan. in Phocicis. (*r*) Pauſan. in Phocicis. Strabo. l. 9.

loſt their Right of ſending their Repreſentatives to the Council; and the *Delphians*, who had before been repreſented by the *Phocians*, were now conſidered as a diſtinct and independent City, and were allowed to ſend their Deputies to the Council (*s*). In the Reign of *Auguſtus Cæſar* after his building the City *Nicopolis*, he made ſeveral Alterations in the Conſtitution of this Council (*t*). He ordered ſeveral of the States of *Greece*, which in former Times had been independent, and had ſent diſtinct Repreſentatives, to be incorporated into one Body, and to ſend the ſame Repreſentatives; and he gave his new City a Right of ſending ſix or eight. *Strabo* thought that this Council was intirely diſſolved in his Time; but *Pauſanias*, who lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, informs us, that the *Amphictyones* held their Meetings in his Time, and that the Number of Delegates were then thirty. But it is remarkable, that the ancient Conſtitution of the Aſſembly was intirely broke (*u*); many Cities ſent but one Deputy, and ſome of the ancient Cities had only Two in ſending; they were not ſuffered to ſend all of them to one and the ſame Council, but it was appointed that ſome ſhould ſend their Deputies to the Vernal Meeting, and

(*s*) Æſchines in orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας. (*t*) Pau
in Phocicis. (*u*) Id. ibid.

ſom

ſome to the Autumnal. I imagine, that when *Greece* was become ſubject to the *Roman* State, *Auguſtus* thought it proper to leſſen the Power and Authority of the Council of the *Amphictyones*, that they might not be able to debate upon, or concert Meaſures to diſturb the *Romans*, or recover the ancient Liberties of *Greece*; it might not perhaps be proper to ſuppreſs their Meeting, but he took care to have ſo many new Votes in the *Roman* Intereſt introduced, and the Number of the ancient Members, who might have the *Græcian* Affairs at Heart, ſo leſſened, that nothing could be attempted here to the Prejudice of the *Romans*; and perhaps this was all that *Strabo* meant by hinting that *Auguſtus* diſſolved this Council. He did not deprive the *Græcians* of a Council which bore this Name, but he ſo far new-modelled it, that it was far from being in Reality what it appeared to be; being in Truth, after *Auguſtus*'s Time, rather a *Roman* Faction, than a *Græcian* Aſſembly meeting for the Benefit of the *Græcian* States. And in a little time the *Amphictyones* were not permitted to intermeddle with Affairs of State at all, but reduced to have only ſome ſmall Inſpection over the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion practiſed in the Temples, under their Cognizance; and ſo upon aboliſhing the Heathen Superſtitions by *Conſtantine*, this Aſ-

ſembly fell on Courſe. The ancient Writers are not unanimouſly agreed about the Place where the *Amphictyones* held their Meeting; that they met at firſt at *Thermopylæ* is undeniable, and in later Ages a Temple was built there to *Ceres Amphictyoneis* (*w*), in which they held their Aſſemblies; but after that the Temple of *Delphos* was taken into their Protection, it is thought by ſome Writers, that the *Amphictyoneis* met alternately one Time at *Thermopylæ*, the next time at *Delphos*, then at *Thermopylæ*, &c. Sir *John Marſham* endeavours to argue from *Pauſanias* (*x*) that the *Amphictyones*, who met at *Delphos*, were a different Council from that of the ſame Name, which met at *Thermopylæ*; but the learned Dean *Prideaux* has ſhewn this to be a Miſtake, *Pauſanias*'s Words not neceſſarily inferring the two Councils to be different; and many other good Writers atteſting them to be ſame, and that the *Amphictyones* did meet at *Delphos* one time, and at *Thermopylæ* another (*y*). *Strabo* mentions a Meeting held in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Iſland *Calauria* (*z*), to which ſeven neighbouring Cities ſent their Deputies; this Meeting was

(*w*) Herodotus Lib. 7. c. 200. Pauſan. in Phocicis.
(*x*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 116. Pauſan. in Achaicis, c. 24.
(*y*) Prideaux Not. Hiſtoric. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep. 5.
(*z*) Strabo l. 8. p. 374.

called

called by the Name *Amphictyonia*, moſt probably, becauſe it was inſtituted in Imitation of the famous Council ſo called; but this Meeting, and that Council, were never taken to be the ſame.

Hellen the Son of *Deucalion* reigned at *Phthia*, a City of *Theſſaly*, about *A. M.* 2484, and his People were called *Hellenes* from his Name; before his Times they were called *Græci* or *Græcians (a)*, moſt probably from *Graicus* the Father of *Theſſalus*. Many of the ancient Writers agree with the Marble in this Remark; *Apollodorus (b)*, *Ariſtotle (c)*, and *Pliny (d)*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Lycophron*; but it ſhould be obſerved from all of them, that neither *Hellenes*, nor *Græci*, were at firſt the Names of the Inhabitants of the whole Country called *Greece* in After-Ages, but only of a Part of it. The ancient *Græci* were thoſe whom *Hellen* called after his Name, and *Hellen* was a King of Part of *Theſſaly*, and only his People were the ancient *Hellenes*. And thus *Pauſanias* remarks, that *Hellas*, which in later Ages was the Name of all *Greece*, was at firſt only a Part of *Theſſaly (e)*; namely that Part where *Hellen* reign'd. In *Homer*'s Time, *Hellas* was the Name of the Coun-

(a) Marmor. Arundel. Ep. 6. (b) Lib. 1.
(c) De Meteoris. lib. 1. (d) Lib. 4. c. 7. (e) Pauſan. in Laconicis, c. 20.

try near to *Phthia*, and it was then used in so extended a Sense, as to comprehend all *Achilles*'s Subjects, who were two small Nations besides the *Hellenes*, namely, the *Myrmidons*, and the *Pelasgian Achæans* (*f*); nay it took in the Country round about the *Pelasgian Argos*; for *Homer* places this *Argos* in the middle of it,

Ἀνδρός τοι καὶ ἐυρὺ κατ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (*g*).

But it is remarkable that *Homer* never calls all *Greece* by the Name of *Hellas*, nor the *Gracians* in general *Hellenes*; because, according to *Thucydides*'s Observation, none but *Achilles*'s Subjects had this Name in *Homer*'s Days (*h*). *Strabo* indeed opposes this Remark of *Thucydides*, and cites *Archilochus* and *Hesiod* to prove, that the Inhabitants of all *Greece* were called *Hellenes*, before the Times of *Homer* (*i*); but *Archilochus* was much later than *Homer*, and the Verse cited from *Hesiod* falls short of proving what *Strabo* infers from it (*k*). The Descendants of *Hellen* were the Founders of many very flourishing Families, who in Time, and by Degrees, spread into all the Countries of *Greece*, and in length of Time came to have so great an Interest, as to have an Order made, that

(*f*) Il. 2. v. 190. (*g*) Odyss. 1. v. 344. (*h*) Thucyd. Inst. l. 1. (*i*) Strabo l. 8. p. 370. (*k*) See Prideaux Not. Histor. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 6.

none

none could be admitted as a Candidate at the *Olympick* Games, who was not deſcended from them; ſo that *Alexander the Great*, according to *Herodotus* (*l*), was obliged to prove himſelf to be an *Hellen*, before he could be admitted to contend for any Prize in theſe Games: And from the Time of making this Order, every Kingdom was fond of deriving their Genealogy from this Family, until all the *Greeks* were reputed to be *Hellenes*, and ſo the Name became univerſally applied to all the ſeveral Nations of the Country. The Marble hints, that *Hellen*, the Father of this Family, firſt inſtituted the *Panathenæan* Games; not meaning, I ſuppoſe, that *Hellen* called them by that Name, but that he inſtituted Games of the ſame ſort with the *Panathenæan*. *Erichthonius* was the firſt in *Greece* who taught to draw Chariots with Horſes, and he inſtituted the Chariot-Race (*m*) about *A. M.* 2499 (*n*), in order to encourage his People to learn to manage Horſes this way with the greater Dexterity. And we are told that in his Days, there was found in ſome Mountains of *Phrygia* the Image of the Mother of the Gods, and that *Hyagnis* made great Improvements in the Art of Muſick, inventing new Inſtruments, and introducing them into the

(*l*) Herodot. L. 5. c. 22. (*m*) Vigil. Georg. 3. Euſeb. Chron. Num. 543. (*n*) Chron. Marmor. Ep. 10.

Worſhip

Worſhip of *Cybele*, *Dionyſus*, *Pan*, and of the other Deities and Heroe-Gods of his Country (*o*). Chariots may very probably be ſuppoſed to have been introduced into *Greece* by *Erichthonius*; for he was an *Egyptian*; and Chariots were uſed in *Egypt* in the Days of *Joſeph* (*p*): But as to *Cybele*'s Image, we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe it thus early, and the Heathen Muſic cannot be thought to have been much improved until after theſe Times. If *Hyagnis* invented the Pipe or *Tibia*, we muſt ſay of his Pipe in the Words of *Horace*,

Tibia non ut nunc Orichalco vincta, tubæque
Æmula; ſed tenuis ſimplexque foramine pauco,
Aſpirare, & adeſſe Choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum ſpiſſa nimis complere ſedilia flatu.

De Arte Poeticâ.

His Pipe was a mean and ſimple Inſtrument, of leſs Compaſs even than the Trumpet, and Muſic was advanced to no remarkable Perfection in his Days.

It is generally ſaid, that the Religion of *Greece* was anciently, what theſe *Egyptians*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, and *Erich-*

(*o*) Chron. Marmor. Ep. 10. (*p*) Gen. l. 9. *In the* Latin *Verſion of* Euſebius's Chronicon, Trochilus *is ſaid to have invented the Chariot*, Num. ccccxlvii; *but it muſt appear, by what we have in the ſame Verſion* Num. dxliii, *where* Erichthonius *is mentioned, that either* Trochilus *was a Foreigner, and did not live in* Greece, *or what is ſaid of him is a Miſtake.*

thonius

thonius introduced; ſo that it may not be amiſs, before we go further, to examine what the ancient *Egyptian* Religion was in their Times; how far it might be corrupted, when they left *Egypt*; and this will ſhew us what Religion theſe *Egyptians* carried into the Countries which they removed into. I have already conſidered that the moſt ancient Deities of the *Egyptians*, and of all other Nations, when they firſt deviated from the Worſhip of the true God, were the Luminaries of Heaven (*g*); and if we carry on the Enquiry, and examine what further Steps they took in the Progreſs of their Idolatry, we ſhall find that the *Egyptians* in a little time conſecrated particular living Creatures in Honour of their Sidereal Deities; and ſome Ages after, they took up an Opinion, that their ancient Heroes were become Gods; which Opinion aroſe from a Belief, that the Souls of ſuch Heroes were tranſlated into ſome Star, and ſo had a very powerful Influence over them and their Affairs.

I. The firſt Step they took, after they worſhipped the Luminaries of Heaven, was to dedicate to each particular Deity ſome living Creature, and to pay their Religious Worſhip of the Deity before ſuch Creature, or the Image of it: This was

(*g*) *See Book* V. *Vol.* I.

practiſed

practiſed in *Egypt* very early, evidently before the *Iſraelites* left that Country; for the *Iſraelites* had learnt from the *Egyptians* to make the Figure of a Calf for the Direction of their Worſhip (*h*); for the moſt Learned, who were able to give the moſt plauſible Accounts of their Superſtition, did not allow, that they really worſhipped their ſacred Animals, but only that they uſed them as the moſt powerful *Mediums*, to raiſe in their Hearts a Religious Senſe of the Deity to which they were conſecrated (*i*). It may be asked how they could fall into this Practice, which to us ſeems odd and humourſome; for of what Uſe can the Figure of a Beaſt be, to raiſe in Mens Minds *Ideas* of even the *Sidereal* Deities. To this I anſwer, Their Speculation and Philoſophy led them into this Practice. When Men had deviated from that Revelation which was to have been their only Guide in Points of Religion, they quickly fell from one Fancy to another, and after they came to think *the Lights of Heaven to be the Gods that governed the World*, they in a little time ap-

(*h*) Exodus xxxii. (*i*) Ἀγαπητέον ἂν ἐ ταῦτα τιμῶνλας, ἀλλὰ δὶα τέτων τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἐναργεςέρων ἐσόπλρων ϗ ϕύσ γεγονότων. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride. p. 382. *In which Words the learned Heathen gives a more refined and Philoſophical Reaſon for the* Egyptian *Image-worſhip, than the* Papiſts *can poſſibly give of theirs.*

prehended

prehended theſe Gods to have made the living Creatures of the Earth more or leſs Partakers of their Divinity and Perfections, that they might be the Inſtruments of conveying a Knowledge of them to Men (*k*); and Men of the niceſt Enquiry and Speculation made many curious Obſervations upon them, which ſeemed highly to favour their Religious Philoſophy. After the Worſhip of the Moon was eſtabliſhed, and the Increaſe and Decreaſe of it ſuperſtitiouſly conſidered, by Men who had no true Philoſophy, the Dilatation and Contraction of the *Pupilla* of a Cat's Eye ſeem'd very extraordinary: *Plutarch* gives us ſeveral Reaſons why the *Egyptians* reputed a Cat to be a ſacred Animal; but that formed from the Contraction and Dilatation of the Pupil of its Eye, ſeems to have been the firſt and moſt remarkable (*l*): This Property of that Creature was thought ſtrongly to intimate to them, that it had a more

(*k*) Ἡ γὰρ ζῶσα καὶ βλέπουσα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχουσα, καὶ γνῶσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων φύσις, ἔσπακεν ἀπορροὴν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τοῦ φρονεῖν· ὅπως κυβερνᾶται τέ, τε σύμπαν, ὄθεν ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τούτοις ἁπάζεται τὸ θεῖον ἢ χαλκείοις καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν —— ὡσὲ μὲν ἓν τῶν τιμωμένων ζώων ταῦτα δοκιμάζω μάλιστα τῶν λεγομένων. Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride p. 382. (*l*) Αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτῶν κόραι πληρεῶσι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν παντελείῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἄστρου· τῷ δὲ ἀνθρωπομόρφῳ τοῦ αἰλούρου τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἐμφαίνεται τῶν περὶ τὴν Σελήνην μεταβολῶν. Id. ibid. p. 376.

than ordinary Participation of the Influence of the *Lunar* Deity, and was by Nature made capable of exhibiting lively Repreſentations of its Divinity unto Men, and was therefore conſecrated and ſet apart for that purpoſe. The Aſp and the Beetle became ſacred upon the ſame Account; they thought they ſaw in them ſome faint Images of the divine Perfections, and therefore conſecrated them to the particular Deities, whoſe Qualities they were thought to exhibit (*m*): And this Practice of reputing ſome Animals ſacred to particular Gods was the firſt Addition made to their Idolatry; and the Reaſon I have given, ſeems to have been the firſt Inducement that led them into it. In later Ages more Animals became ſacred than were at firſt thought ſo, and they paid a more Religious Regard to them, and gave more in Number, and more frivolous Reaſons for it; but this was the Riſe and Beginning of this Error.

II. Some Ages after, they deſcended to worſhip Heroes or dead Men, whom they canonized: That they acknowledged many of their Gods to be of this ſort, is very evident from the expreſs Declaration of their Prieſts, who affirmed, that they had

(*m*) Ἄσπιδα ὃ καὶ γαλῆν καὶ κάνθαρον, εἰκόνας τινὰς ἑαυτοῖς ἀμαυρὰς ὥσπερ ἐν σαγόσιν ἡλίου τὰ τῶν θεῶν δυνάμεως κατιδόντες. Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride.

the

the Bodies of theſe Gods embalmed and depoſited in their Sepulchres (*n*): The moſt celebrated Deities they had of this Sort were *Chronus*, *Rhea*, *Oſyris*, *Orus*, *Typhon*, *Iſis* and *Nephthe*; and theſe Perſons were ſaid to be deify'd upon an Opinion that at their Deaths their Souls migrated into ſome Star, and became the animating Spirit of ſome luminous and heavenly Body: This the *Egyptian* Prieſts expreſly aſſerted (*o*), and this Account almoſt all the ancient Writers give of theſe Gods; thus it was recorded in the *Phœnician* Antiquities, that *Chronus* or *Saturnus* was after his Death made a God, by becoming the Star of that Name (*p*); and this Opinion was communicated from Nation to Nation, and prevailed in all Parts of the Heathen World, and was evidently received at *Rome* at *Julius Cæſar*'s Death, who was canonized upon the Account of the Appearance of a Comet or a luminous Body for ſeven Days together at the Time that *Auguſtus* appointed the cuſtomary Games in Honour of him (*q*); the *Phœnomenon* which then appeared, was

(*n*) Οὐ μόνον ὧν τέτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγκσιν, ἀλλὰ κὴ τ̃ ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγεννητοὶ μηδὲ ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μ̃ σώματα ἐν αὐτοῖς κεῖθ̃ καμόντα κὴ τελευτάσαντ̃. Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride. (*o*) Τὰς δ̃ ψυχὰς λάμπειν ἄστρα. Ibid. (*p*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (*q*) Suetonius Hiſt. Cæſar. Lib. 1. ad fin.

thought

thought to be the Star which he paſſed into at his leaving this World, and was accordingly called by *Virgil Dionæi Cæſaris Aſtrum* (*r*), and by *Horace Julium Sidus* (*ſ*). And an Opinion of this ſort appears to have prevail'd amongſt the *Arabians* at the Time of our Saviour's Birth, when the Eaſtern *Magi* came to worſhip him, convinced of his Divinity by an Evidence of it, which God was pleaſed to give them in their own Way, from their having *ſeen his Star in the Eaſt* (*t*). Let us now ſee,

III. When the *Egyptians* firſt conſecrated theſe Heroe-Gods, or deify'd Mortals? To this I anſwer, not before they took Notice of the Appearances of the particular Stars which they appropriated to them. *Julius Cæſar* was not canonized until the Appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor could the *Phœnicians* have any Notion of the Divinity of *Chronus*, until they made ſome Obſervations of the Star, which they imagined he was removed into: And this will at leaſt inform us when five of the ſeven ancient Heroe-Gods of the *Egyptians* received their *Apotheoſis*. The *Egyptians* relate a very remarkable Fable of the Birth of theſe five Gods (*u*). They ſay that *Rhea* lay privately with *Saturn*, and was with

(*r*) Eclog. 9. v. 47. (*ſ*) Ode 12. Lib. 1. (*t*) Mat. ii.
(*u*) Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride.

Chil

Child by him; that the Sun upon finding out her Baſeneſs, laid a Curſe upon her, that ſhe ſhould not be delivered in any Month or Year; that *Mercury* being in Love with the Goddeſs lay with her alſo, and then play'd at Dice with the Moon, and won from her the ſeventy ſecond Part of each Day, and made up of theſe Winnings five Days, which he added to the Year, making the Year to conſiſt of 365 Days, which before conſiſted of 360 Days only, and that in theſe Days *Rhea* brought forth five Children, *Oſiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, *Iſis*, and *Nephthe*. We need not enquire into the *Mythology* of this Fable; what I remark from it is this, that the Fable could not be invented before the *Egyptians* had found out that the Year conſiſted of 365 Days, and conſequently, that by their own Accounts the five Deities ſaid to be born on the five ἐπαγόμεναι or additional Days, were not deify'd before they knew that the Year had theſe five Days added to it; and this Addition to the Year was firſt made about the time of *Aſſis*, who was the ſixth of the *Paſtor*-Kings which reigned in *Egypt*, and it was towards the End of his Reign (*w*), *i. e.* about *A. M.* 2665, a little after the Death of *Joſhua*. Had *Oſiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, *Iſis* and *Nephthe* been eſteemed Deities before this additional

(*w*) Syncell. p. 123. Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 235.

Length of the Year was apprehended, we ſhould not have had this, but ſome other fabulous Account of their Birth tranſmitted to us; but from this Account one would think that the *Egyptian* Aſtronomers had about this time remarked the Appearance of five new Stars in their *Horizon*, which their Predeceſſors had taken no notice of; and as *Julius Cæſar* was reported a God from the Appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, ſo theſe five Perſons being the higheſt in Eſteem amongſt the *Egyptians* of all their famous Anceſtors, might be deify'd, and the five new appearing Stars be called by their Names: and the Obſervation of theſe Stars being firſt made about the Time, when the Length of the Year was corrected, this Piece of Mythology took its Riſe from them. It is indeed aſſerted in the Fable, that theſe five Deities were born at this Time; but we muſt remember the Relation to be a Fable, and *Plutarch* well remarks, juſt upon his giving us this Story, that we muſt not take the *Egyptian* Fables about their Gods to relate Matters of Fact really performed; for that was not the Deſign of them (*x*): All that this Fable can reaſonably be ſup-

(*x*) Ὅταν ἓν ἃ μυθολογῶσιν Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀκούσῃς, μὴ τούτων πεπραγμένων μνημονεύειν, οὐδὲ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι τούτων λέγεσθαι γεγονὸς ἕτω οὐδὲ πεπραγμένον. Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride.

poſed

poſed to hint to us, is, that the five Stars called by theſe Names were firſt obſerved by their Aſtronomers about the Time that the Addition of five Days was made to the Year, and conſequently that the Heroes and Heroines whoſe Names were given to theſe Stars, were firſt worſhipped as Deities about this Time; and we are no more to infer hence, that theſe Perſons were born of *Rhea* as the Fable relates, than that *Mercury* and *Luna* really play'd at Dice, as is fabulouſly reported. *Iſis* ſeems at firſt to have been reputed to be the Star, which the *Greeks* called the Dog-ſtar, the *Egyptians Sothis* (*y*), and this they expreſſed on a Pillar erected to her (*z*). *Orus* was the Star called *Orion*, and *Typho* the Bear-ſtar (*a*). Afterwards the Names both of theſe and their other Gods were very variouſly uſed, and applied to very different Powers and Beings.

The *Egyptians* had other Heroe-Gods beſides theſe five; they had eight Perſons whom their *Chronology* called Demigods; *Diodorus* gives them theſe Names, *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Veſta*, *Mercurius* (*b*); and their hiſtorical Memoirs affirm theſe Perſons to have reigned in *Egypt* before *Menes* or *Miz-*

(*y*) Plutarch. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride. (*z*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. *Part of the Inſcription on the Pillar, is* Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἄσρῳ τῷ κυνὶ ἐπιτέλλουσα. (*a*) Plut. ubi ſup. (*b*) Lib. 1.

raim, and before their Heroes; ſo that they certainly lived before the Flood (*c*); and they had after theſe a Race of Heroes, fifteen in Number, and the Perſons I have been ſpeaking of, are five of them (*d*), and theſe muſt likewiſe have been *Ante-diluvians* (*e*); but I do not imagine they were deify'd until about this Time of the correcting of the Year; for when this Humour firſt began, it is not likely that they made Gods of Men but juſt dead, of whoſe Infirmities and Imperfections many Perſons might be living Witneſſes; but they took the Names of their firſt Anceſtors, whom they had been taught to honour for Ages, and whoſe Fame had been growing by the Increaſe of Tradition, and all whoſe Imperfections had been ſo long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. It has always been the Humour of Men to look for truly great and unexceptionable Characters in ancient Times: *Neſtor* frequently tells the *Greeks* in *Homer*, what ſort of Perſons liv'd when he was a Boy, and they were eaſily admitted to be far ſuperior to the greateſt and moſt excellent then alive; and had he been three times as old as he was, he might have almoſt deify'd his Heroes; but it is hard to be conceived, that a Set of Men could ever

(*c*) *See* Vol. I. Book I. p. 20, 21.
(*d*) Diodorus Sic. L.
(*e*) *See* Book I. Vol. I. p. 22, 23, 24.

be choſen by their Cotemporaries to have divine Honours paid them, whilſt numerous Perſons were alive, who knew their Imperfections, and who themſelves or their immediate Anceſtors might have as fair a Pretence, and come in Competition with them: *Alexander* the Great had but ill Succeſs in his Attempt to make the World believe him the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; nor could *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond King of *Rome*, make *Romulus*'s Tranſlation to Heaven ſo firmly, believ'd, as not to leave room for ſubſequent Hiſtorians to report him kill'd by his Subjects (*c*); nor can I conceive that *Julius Cæſar*'s Canonization, tho' it was contrived more politickly, and ſupported with more ſpecious and popular Appearances, would ever have ſtood long indiſputable, if the Light of Chriſtianity had not appeared ſo ſoon after this Time as it did, and impaired the Credit of the Heathen Superſtitions. The Fame of deceaſed Perſons muſt have Ages to grow up to Heaven, and divine Honours cannot be given with any Shew of Decency but by a late Poſterity. *Plutarch* (*d*) obſerves that none of the *Egyptian* Deities were Perſons ſo modern as *Semiramis*; for that neither ſhe amongſt the *Aſſyrians*, nor *Seſoſtris* in *Egypt*, nor any of

(*c*) Dionyſ. Halicar. Lib. 2. c. 56. (*d*) Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride.

the ancient *Phrygian* Kings, nor *Cyrus* amongſt the *Perſians*, nor *Alexander* the Great, were able, tho' they perform'd the greateſt Actions, to raiſe themſelves to higher Glory, than that of being famous and illuſtrious Princes and Commanders; and he remarks from *Plato*, that whenever any of them affected Divinity, they ſunk inſtead of raiſed their Character by it: Their Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods. *Euemerus Meſſenius* in *Plutarch* is reported to have wrote a Book to prove the ancient Gods of the Heathen World to have been only their ancient Kings and Commanders; but *Plutarch* thought he might be ſufficiently refuted by reviewing all the ancient Hiſtory, and remarking, that the moſt early Kings, tho' of moſt celebrated Memory, had not ever attained divine Honours. *Plutarch* himſelf thought theſe Gods to have been *Genii*, of a Power and Nature more than Mortal: The Truth ſeems to have been this; they were their *ante-diluvian* Anceſtors, of whom they had had ſo little true Hiſtory, and ſuch inlarged Traditions and broken Stories, that they thought them far ſuperior to their greateſt Kings, whoſe Lives and Actions they had more exact Accounts of.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that if theſe Heroe-Gods lived ſo many Ages earlier than this ſuppoſed Time of their being canonized, why ſhould we not imagine that they

they were deify'd ſooner? or ſince eight of them, namely the Demi-gods, are thought more ancient than the reſt, and *Chronus* and *Rhea* two of them are fabled to be Parents of ſome of the others, why ſhould they be imagined to be all deify'd at this one particular Time, and not rather ſome in one Age and ſome in another? All I can offer towards anſwering theſe Queries is, 1. I conclude from the Fable related by *Plutarch*, that *Oſiris*, *Orus*, *Iſis*, *Typho*, and *Nephthe* mentioned in it were not deify'd before the Addition of the five Days to the ancient Year; becauſe the whole Fable and the Birth of theſe Deities is founded upon the Addition of thoſe Days. 2. We ſhall ſee Reaſon hereafter to conclude that no Nation but the *Egyptians*, not even thoſe who received their Religion from *Egypt*, worſhipped Heroe-gods, even ſo early as theſe Days. 3. We have no Reaſon to think the Number of their Gods of this ſort was very great; I cannot ſee Reaſon to think they had any more beſides what I have mentioned, except *Anubis* who was Cotemporary with *Oſiris* (*e*); ſo that they had but fourteen Demi-gods and Heroe-gods taking the Number of both together, and thus many they might well deify at one

(*e*) Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 77.

Time: If theſe Gods had been canonized at different Times and in different Ages, there would have been a greater Number of them, but all that the Ingenuity of ſucceeding Ages performed was only to give theſe Gods new Names. Thus *Oſiris*, and ſometimes *Typhon*, and ſometimes the Sun, was called in After-ages *Serapis*; and *Orus* was called *Apollo*, and *Harpocrates*. 4. *Oſiris*, ſaid to be born when the five Days were added to the Year, is reputed to be one of the moſt ancient of the *Egyptian* Gods, and therefore ſometimes taken for the Sun; ſo that this Heroe ſeems to have been deify'd as early as any *(f)*, and therefore moſt probably he and all the reſt about the Time I have mentioned. 5. About this Time lived the ſecond *Mercury*, he was the thirty fifth King of *Thebes*, called *Siphoas* and *Hermes* for his great Learning, and for being the Reſtorer and Improver of the Arts and Sciences firſt taught by the ancient *Hermes* or *Thyoth*. It was perhaps he who found out the Defect in their ancient Computations of the Year. *Strabo* ſays this was firſt found out by the *Theban* Prieſts (*g*), and he adds, that they make *Mercury* (meaning undoubtedly this ſecond *Mercury*) the Author of this Knowledge (*h*); for the firſt *Mercury* liv'd Ages

(*f*) Diodorus Lib. 1. (*g*) Strabo Lib. 17. p. 816. (*h*) Id. ibid.

before

before the Length of the Year was ſo far apprehended: And I think we cannot conjecture any thing more probable, than that as *Syphis* ſoon after *Abraham*'s Time built the Errors of the *Egyptian* Religion upon his Aſtronomy; ſo this Prince, upon his thus greatly improving that Science, introduced new Errors in Theology by this ſame Learning. The one taught to worſhip the Luminaries of Heaven, thinking them inſtinct with a glorious and divine Spirit; the other carried his Aſtronomy to a greater Height than his Predeceſſors had done: He apprehended ſome Stars to be of a more benign Influence to his Country than others, and taught that the Souls of ſome of their moſt famous Anceſtors lived and governed in them, and from hence aroſe the Opinion of *Indigetes*, Θεοὶ πατρῷοι, or Deities peculiarly propitious to particular Countries, of which we have frequent mention in ancient Writers, and which ſpread univerſally by degrees into all the Heathen Nations. *Philo Biblius* mentions *Taautus* as a Perſon who framed (*j*) a great Part of the *Egyptian* Religion, and moſt probably what he hints at, was done by this ſecond *Taautus*, *Thoth* or *Hermes*; and the Additions he made to the Religion of his Anceſtors, ſeem from *Philo*, to relate to what I have aſcribed to him. *Herodotus* (*i*)

(*j*) Euſebius Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (*i*) Lib. 2. c. 145.

ſeems

ſeems to hint that the *Egyptians* had at firſt eight of theſe Gods only, that in time they made them up twelve, and afterwards imagined theſe twelve to have been the Parents of other Gods. If any one thinks it moſt probable that *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Veſta*, *Mercurius*, (theſe being the eight terreſtrial Deities which *Diodorus Siculus* mentions to have been the firſt Heroe-Gods, which the *Egyptians* worſhipped,) I ſay if any one thinks it moſt probable that *Siphoas* canonized theſe, and that the five Deities ſaid to be born of *Rhea* were deify'd later; and that a Story was made upon the five additional Days, not at the time of their being firſt found out, but many Years after, and that afterwards they ſtill added to the Number of their Gods, I cannot pretend to affirm that this Opinion is to be rejected; for I muſt confeſs that all that we can be certain of in this matter is only this, that the *Ægyptians* did not worſhip Heroe-Gods before the Times of the ſecond *Mercury*, and that *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, *Typho*, and *Nephthe* were not deify'd before the five Days were added to the *Egyptian* Accounts of the Year; tho' I think it moſt probable from what is hinted about the Inventions of *Syphoas* or the ſecond *Mercury*, that he began and compleated the whole *Syſtem* of this *Theology*; perhaps he did not begin and perfect it at once,

once, he might be ſome Years about it, and thereby occaſion ſome of theſe Gods to be deify'd ſooner than others.

IV. After the Heroe Deities were received, a new Set of living Animals were conſecrated to them, and Cyphers and *Hieroglyphic* Characters were invented to expreſs their Divinity and Worſhip. The Bull called *Apis* was made ſacred to *Oſiris (k)*, and likewiſe the Hawk *(l)*: The Aſs, Crocodile, and Sea-Horſe were ſacred to *Typho (m)*: *Anubis* was ſaid to be the Dog-Star, and the Dog was ſacred to him *(n)*, and a very religious Regard was had to this Animal until *Cambyſes* killed the *Apis (o)*: After that, ſome of the Fleſh of *Apis* being thrown to the Dogs, and they readily attempting to eat it, they fell under great Cenſure, for deſiring to prophane themſelves by eating the Fleſh of ſo ſacred an Animal *(p)*; but this Accident did not happen until about *A. M.* 3480. The Serpent or Dragon was conſecrated to *Nephthe (q)*, and other ſuitable Animals to other Gods; and all this ſeems to have been the Invention of *Taautus*; for ſo *Philo* repreſents it, making him the Author of the Divinity of the Ser-

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(*k*) Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride. (*l*) Id. ibid. (*m*) Id. ibid. (*n*) Id. ibid. (*o*) *See* Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. III. (*p*) Plutarch. ubi ſup. (*q*) Id. ibid.

pent

pent (*r*), or Dragon, which was ſacred to *Nephthe*; and alſo hinting, that he invented the *Hieroglyphic* Characters, which the *Egyptians* were ſo famous for (*ſ*), taking his Patterns from the Animals, which had been conſecrated to the Luminaries of Heaven: *Philo* does not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the firſt *Hermes* or *Taautus* from the ſecond, but aſcribes ſome Particulars, that were true of the firſt *Mercury* only, to the Perſon he ſpeaks of; but what he hints about the ſacred Animals and *Hieroglyphics* muſt be aſcribed to the ſecond *Mercury*; for if, as I have formerly obſerved (*t*), the Religion of the *Egyptians* was not corrupted in the Days of *Abraham*, the firſt *Taautus* muſt be dead long before the ſacred Animals were appointed, and I may here add, that *Hieroglyphics* were not in uſe in his Days; for the Pillars upon which he left his Memoirs, were inſcrib'd not in *Hieroglyphics*, but ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι, in the ſacred Letters, in Letters which were capable of being made uſe of by a *Tranſlator*, who turned what was written in theſe Letters out of one

(*r*) Τῷ μὲν ἓν Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ ἡ Ὄφεων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Ταάυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (*ſ*) Ταάυτος μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν, τὰ θεῶν ὄψεις, Κέφαλε καὶ Δαγῶνος καὶ τὰ λοιπῶν διετύπωσεν καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. Id. ibid. (*t*) Vol. I. B. 5.

Lan-

Language into another *(u)*. The *Hieroglyphical* Inſcriptions of the *Egyptians* are pretty full of the Figures of Birds, Fiſhes, Beaſts and Men, with a few Letters ſometimes between them; and this alone is ſufficient to hint to us, that they could not come into Uſe, before the Animals repreſented in Inſcriptions of this Sort, were become by *Allegory* and *Mythology* capable of expreſſing various Things, by their having been variouſly uſed in the Ceremonies of their Religion.

It may perhaps be ſaid that the *Egyptians* had two Sorts of *Hieroglyphics*, as *Porphyry (w)* has accurately obſerved, calling the one Sort Ἱερογλυφικὰ κοινολογέμενα κατὰ μίμησιν, *i. e. Hieroglyphics* communicating their Meaning to us by an Imitation of the Thing deſigned; and the other ſort, Συμβολικὰ ἀλληγορέμενα κατά τινας Αἰνιγμὰς, *i. e.* Figures conveying their Meaning by alluding *(x)* to ſome intricate *Mythologies*; and perhaps it may be thought, that this latter Sort of *Hieroglyphics* were probably invented about the Times I am treating of; but that the former were in uſe long before, and being nothing elſe but a ſimple Repreſentation of Things by ma-

(*u*) *See* Vol. I. B. 4. p. 247. (*w*) In Lib. de Vit. Pythag. p. 12. (*x*) *Theſe* Hieroglyphics *were ſomething like* Pythagoras's *Precepts, they expreſſed one Thing, but meant another.* Plut. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 354.

king

king their Pictures or Imitations, might be perhaps the first Letters used by Men. But to this I answer, 1. We have no Reason to think that these *Hieroglyphics* were so ancient as the first Letters. 2. They would be but a very imperfect Character; many, nay most Occurrences could be represented by them but by halves: The *Egyptians* intermingled Letters with their *Hieroglyphics* to fill up and connect Sentences, and to express Actions, and the first Men must have had Letters as well as Pictures, or their Pictures could have hinted only the *Ideas* of visible Objects, but there would have been much wanting in all Inscriptions to give their full and true Meaning. 3. This Picture-Character would have been unintelligible, unless Men could be supposed to delineate the Forms or Pictures of Things, more accurately, than can well be imagined: The first Painters and Figure-drawers performed very rudely, and were frequently obliged to write underneath what their Figures and Pictures were, to enable those that saw them to know what was designed to be represented by them: The *Egyptians* drew the Forms of their sacred Animals but imperfectly even in later Ages, and I cannot doubt, but if we could see what they at first delineated for a Bull, a Dog, a Cat, or a Monkey, it would be

difficult to tell which Figure might be this or that, or whether any of their Figures were any of them; and therefore to help the Reader they uſually marked the Sun and Moon or ſome other Characters, to denote what God the Animal deſigned was ſacred to, and then it was eaſier to gueſs without Miſtake, what the Picture was, and what might be intended by it. And ſomething like this the Men of the moſt ancient Times muſt have done; for they cannot be imagined to be able to picture well enough to make Draughts expreſſive of their Meaning: They might invent and learn a rude Character much ſooner than they could acquire Art enough to draw Pictures, and therefore it is moſt probable, that ſuch a Character was firſt invented and made uſe of. But, 3. *Porphyry* did not mean by the Expreſſion κοινολογούμενα κατὰ μίμησιν, that the Characters he ſpoke of imitated the Forms or Figures of the Things intended by them; for that was not the μίμησις, which the ancient Writers aſcribed to Letters. *Socrates* gives us the Opinion of the Ancients upon this Point, namely, that Letters were like the Syllables of which Words were compounded, and expreſſed an Imitation, for he uſes that Word [not of the Figure or Picture; but] of the οὐσία or Subſtance, Power or Meaning of the Thing deſign'd by

by them (*x*). Thus he makes Letters no more the Pictures of Things than the Syllables of Words are: The Ancients were exceedingly *Philoſophical* in their Account of both Words and Letters: When a Word or a Sound was thought fully to expreſs according to their Notions, the Thing which it was deſigned to be the Name of, then they called it the εἰκὼν or Picture of that Thing; and they apprehended that a Word could not be compleatly expreſſive, unleſs it was compounded of Letters well choſen to give it a Sound ſuitable to the Nature of the Thing deſigned to be expreſſed by it; and when a Word hit their Fancy intirely in theſe Reſpects, then they thought the Sound and Letters of it to expreſs, imitate, or reſemble the true Image of the Thing it ſtood for. All this may be collected from ſeveral Paſſages of *Plato* upon this Subject (*y*),

(*x*) Ὁ διὰ τ̃ συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν οὐσίαν τ̃ πραγμάτων ἀπομιμούμενος —— τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὄνομα. Plato in Cratylo. *or in other Words he ſays,* Δήλωμα συλλαβαῖς καὶ γράμμασι ὄνομά ὅτι. Ibid. (*y*) Οὐκοῦν ἐμὲ ἀποδιδὰς πάντα καλὰ τὰ γράμματα —— ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι —— καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποδίδωσιν· Ὁ δ' ἐὰν πρόσθεὶς ἢ ἀφαιρῶν γράμματα, εἰκόνας μὲ ἐργάζεται καὶ ὄντως, ἀλλὰ πονηράς —— ὥσπερ καὶ Δέκα, ἢ ὅσα βέλτιω ἄλλῳ ἀριθμὸς, ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς τι ἢ προσθῇς, ἕτερος ἀλλὰ γέγονε. —— Εἰ μέλλει καλῶς κεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, τὰ προσήκοντα δεῖ αὐτῷ γράμματα ἔχειν· *See* Plat. Cratyl. Edit. Ficini, p. 295, 296, 297, &c.

and

and in this Senſe we muſt take *Porphyry*'s Expreſſion; and this will lead us to think the Letters he treats of to be the *Egyptian* ſacred Letters, as I have formerly hinted from this very Deſcription of them (*z*). When Language conſiſted of *Monoſyllables* only, a ſingle Stroke, Daſh, or Letter might be thought as expreſſive of a ſingle Sound, as various Letters were afterwards thought of various and compounded Words, or of *Polyſyllables*; and ſince the μίμησις or Imitation, which the Ancients aſcribed to their Letters, was an Imitation relating to the expreſſing well the Word they ſtood for, and not an Imitation of the Form or Shape of the Thing, we muſt err widely from their Meaning, to imagine their Letters to have been Pictures or *Hieroglyphics*, becauſe they aſcribe ſuch a *Mimeſis* to them.

V. It was cuſtomary in *Egypt*, in the very ancient Times, to call eminent and famous Men by the Names of their Gods; this *Diodorus Siculus* informs us of: After his Account of the *Celeſtial* Deities, he adds, that they had Men of great Eminence, ſome of whom were Kings of their Country, and all of them Benefactors to the public by their uſeful Inventions, and ſome of theſe they called by the Name of their celeſtial Deities (*a*); and of this

(*z*) *See* Vol. I. Book 4. p. 246. (*a*) Diodor. l. 1. p. 12.

Number he reckons the Perſons called *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Veſta*, *Mercurius*; intimating indeed that theſe were not their *Egyptian* Names, but only equivalent to them. The *Egyptians* in the Beginning of their Idolatry worſhipped the Sun and Moon, and in a little time the Elements, the *Vis vivifica* of living Creatures, the Fire, Air, Earth and Water (*b*); and perhaps the Wind might be the eighth Deity, for they diſtinguiſhed the Wind and Air from one another, and took them to be two different Things (*c*); and as the *Aſſyrians* called their Kings and great Men, *Bel*, *Nebo*, *Gad*, *Azar*, after the Names of their Gods, ſo did the *Egyptians*; and whilſt they worſhipped only theſe Deities, they had only the Names and Titles of theſe to dignify illuſtrious Men with; but in after-Times, when the Men, who were at firſt called by the Names of their Gods, came to be deify'd, then the Names of theſe Men were thought honorary Titles, for thoſe who lived after them. Thus as *Oſiris* was called *Sol*, or *Iſis Luna* (*d*), by thoſe who had a Deſire to give them the moſt illuſtrious Titles and Appellations; ſo when *Oſiris* and *Iſis* were reputed Deities, a later Poſterity gave their Names to famous

(*b*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1.
(*c*) Wiſdom. Chap. xiii. Ver. 2.
(*d*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

Men,

Men, who had lived later than they did. And thus the Brother of *Cnan* or *Canaan*, *i.e.* *Mizraim*, was called *Oſiris* (*e*). I might add further: As the *Aſſyrians* called their Kings ſometimes by the Names of two or three of their Gods put together, as *Nabonaſſar*, *Nebuchadnezer* (*f*); ſo the *Egyptians* many times gave one and the ſame Perſon the Names of ſeveral Gods, according as the Circumſtances of their Lives gave Occaſion; and thus *Diodorus* remarks (*g*), that the ſame Perſon that was called *Iſis*, was ſometimes called *Juno*, ſometimes *Ceres*, and ſometimes *Luna*; and *Oſiris* was at one time called *Serapis*, at another *Dionyſus*, at another, *Pluto*, *Ammon*, *Jupiter* and *Pan*: And as one and the ſame Perſon was ſometimes called by different Names, ſo one and the ſame Name was frequently given to many different Perſons, who lived in different Ages. *Oſiris* was not the Name of one Perſon only, but *Mizraim* was call'd by this Name (*h*), and ſo were diverſe Kings that lived later than he did, amongſt the Number of whom we may, I believe, inſert *Seſoſtris*: But we may ſee the Application of theſe ancient Names abundantly in one particular Name, which I chuſe to inſtance in, becauſe I have frequent Occaſion to mention

(*e*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39. (*f*) Vol. I. B 5.
(*g*) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12. (*h*) *See* Vol. I. B. 4.

it: The Reader will find other Names as variouſly given to different Perſons in all Parts of the ancient Hiſtory. *Chronus* was the Name of the Star called *Saturn*, and moſt probably ſome Antediluvian was firſt called by this Name; afterwards the Father of *Belus*, *Canaan*, *Cuſh*, and *Mizraim*, i. e. *Moſes*'s *Ham* the Son of *Noah*, was called by this Name (*i*). The Son of this *Ham*, and Father of *Taautus*, i. e. *Mizraim* himſelf, was called *Chronus* (*k*). The Father of *Abraham* was called *Chronus* (*l*), and *Abraham* himſelf was alſo thus called (*m*). I might obſerve the ſame of *Belus*, *Bacchus*, *Pan*, and of almoſt every other Name; but abundance of Inſtances will occur to every one that reads any of the ancient Writers.

VI. The *Egyptians* having firſt called their Heroes by the Names of their *Sidereal* and *Elementary* Deities, added in Time to the Hiſtory of the Life and Actions of ſuch Heroes, a *Mythological* Account of their Philoſophical Opinions concerning the Gods, whoſe Names had been given to ſuch Heroes; and this might be firſt done by the ſecond *Thyoth* or *Hermes*, and to him muſt belong what *Philo* in *Euſebius*

(*i*) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 204. (*k*) Ibid.
(*l*) *See* B. 6. Euſeb. præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.
(*m*) Ibid.

(*a*) relates

(a) relates of the Perſon of his Name; that being famous for his great Parts and Learning, he raiſed the Style (as I might ſay) that had been uſed in ſubjects of Religion, and inſtead of a plain way of treating theſe Points, accommodated to the Capacity of the low and Vulgar People, he introduced a Method more ſuitable to the Learning that was then in Eſteem and Reputation; moſt probably he did what the ſame Author mentions the Son of *Thabion* to have practiſed upon *Sanchoniatho* (*b*). To plain Narrations of Fact and Hiſtory, he added *Mythology* and *Philoſophy*. He put into a Syſtem the *Philoſophy* then in Repute, concerning the Stars and Elements; and by inventing ſuch Fables as he thought expreſſive, he made an Hiſtory of his *Syſtem*, by inſerting the ſeveral Parts of it amongſt the Actions of ſuch Perſons as had born the Names of the *Sidereal* or *Elementary* Deities, to whom the reſpective Parts of his *Syſtem* might be applied. I might confirm all this, from numerous Explications

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(*a*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. *The Words are* Τάυτ Θ᾽ ὁ Λιγύπτιοι Θωὺτ προσαγορεύσι, σοφία διενεγκών — πρᾶτος τὰ κτ᾽ τὸν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τ τῆ᾽ ἰουδαίων ἀπειρίας εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. (*b*) Id. Ibid. p. 39. *The Words are* Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ ΘαβίωνΘ Παῖς πρῶτος τῆ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος γεγονότων Φοινίκων ἱεροφάντης ἀλληγορήσας, τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς κ᾽ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν ἀναμίξας παρέδωκε τοῖς ὀργιάσι.

of the *Egyptian* Fables, which *Plutarch* has given us in his Treatiſe upon *Iſis* and *Oſiris*. The ancient Hiſtory of theſe two Perſons was moſt probably no more than this, which may be collected from *Diodorus*'s Account of them (*b*). *Oſiris* married *Iſis*, taught Men to live ſociably, to plant Trees, and to ſow Corn; and he not only taught one Sett or Company of Men, theſe uſeful Arts; but he travelled up and down far and near, inſtructing all that would be adviſed by him, leaving his Domeſtic Family or Kingdom to be governed by his Wife *Iſis*, and Son *Taautus*, whenever he went from home to inſtruct the neighbouring Nations, or rather Families. *Oſiris*, after ſeveral uſeful and ſucceſsful Expeditions of this Sort, returned home greatly honoured and eſteemed by all that knew him; but upon ſome Accident or Quarrel, he is ſaid to have been killed by *Typho*. *Iſis* raiſed her Family, fought with *Typho*, got her Husband's Body and buried it: This might be the whole Account they had at firſt of *Oſiris*, and all this might be true of *Mizraim*, the firſt King of *Egypt*; but then, this *Oſiris* having had the Names of ſeveral of their Gods given to him in After-Ages, all that was believed of theſe was added in *Mythology* to his Hiſtory. Thus *Oſiris* having had the Name of the Moon

(*b*) Hiſt. l. 1.

given

given to him, and it being believed of the Moon, that it compleated its Courſe in twenty eight Days; and that the Moon, after the Full, decreaſes, and is diminiſhed by ſome Potent Cauſe for fourteen Days together, they called the Moon *Oſiris*, the Cauſe of its Decreaſe *Typho*, and they tell this Story; That *Oſiris* reigned twenty eight Years, and was killed by *Typho*, who pulled him into fourteen Pieces (*c*). Sometimes they call the Element of Water by the Name of *Oſiris*, and from hence they raiſe many Fables. *Oſiris* is Water, and by conſequence Moiſture: Heat is called *Apophis*, and ſaid to be the Brother of *Sol*, or nearly related to the Sun or Fire. *Jupiter* is the Cauſe of all animal or vegetable Life; and the *Mythos* or Fable runs thus: *Apophis* the Brother of *Sol* made War againſt *Jupiter*, but *Oſiris* aſſiſted *Jupiter*; *i.e.* Heat would parch, dry up, and wither every thing living, but that Moiſture affords a Supply againſt it (*d*). Sometimes *Oſiris* is the River *Nile*, his Wife *Iſis* is the Land of *Egypt*, which is rendred fruitful by the Overflowings of that River. *Orus* is the legitimate Child of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, *i. e.* is the Product of the Land of *Egypt*, cauſed by the Floods of the River *Nile*: *Typho* is put for Heat, *Nephthe* is the high Lands,

(*c*) Plut. Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 368. (*d*) Plutarch. Ibid. p. 364.

which the Floods of *Nile* ſeldom reach to, and is ſaid to be *Typho*'s Wife, becauſe they are commonly parched with Heat. If the Floods of *Nile* happen at any time to reach theſe high Lands, then there commonly grow upon them ſome few Water-Plants cauſed by the Inundation, and theſe they reckon an uncommon Product, and call them *Anubis*; and they hint all this in the following Fable. They ſay *Oſiris* begat of his Wife *Iſis* a legitimate Child called *Orus*, and that he committed Adultery with *Nephthe* the Wife of *Typho*, and had by her the Baſtard *Anubis* (*e*). They ſometimes carry on this Fable ſtill further; they tell us *Typho* found out the Adultery, killed *Oſiris*, pulled his Body in twenty ſix, ſometimes in twenty eight Pieces, put them in a Cheſt and threw them into the Sea; *i.e.* the heat and warm Weather dried up the Floods of the *Nile*, in 26 or 28 Days, and his Stream was received and ſwallowed up in the Sea, until the time that the *Nile* flows again: Then they ſay, *Iſis* found the Body of her Husband *Oſiris*, conquered *Typho*, *i.e.* the hot and dry Weather; And thus they go on without End of either Fancy or Fable. Sometimes they affirm *Typho* to have been a red Man, and *Oſiris* a black one, not intending to deſcribe the Perſons of either,

(*e*) Id. ibid.

but

but giving Hints of ſome of their Opinions about the Elements of Fire and Water (*e*). *Oſiris* is ſometimes the Moon, *Iſis* the Earth, *Orus* the Fruits of the Earth, *Anubis* the Horizon, and *Nephthe* the Parts of the Globe that lye beneath it; and ſometimes all theſe Names are applied to Stars, and the greater Lights of Heaven, and correſpondent Fables framed to expreſs what their Philoſophy dictated about them. I might enlarge here very copiouſly, but I would only give a Specimen of what may be met with, if the Reader thinks fit to purſue this Subject. I am ſenſible, that ſuch a *Theology* as this muſt in our Age appear ridiculous and extravagant; but I would remark, that it was inſtituted by Men who were univerſally admired in their Days for the greateſt Learning; for it was accounted no ſmall Attainment, for a Perſon to be *learned in the Learning of the* Egyptians; and I might add, upon what *Plato* and *Plutarch* have offered in Favour and Defence of the *Egyptian* Superſtitions, that if we conſult Hiſtory, we ſhall find, that there is nothing ſo weak, extravagant or ridiculous, but that Men even of the firſt Parts, and eminent for their natural ſtrength of Underſtanding, have been deceived to

(*e*) Plutarch. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride.

embrace and defend; and from *Plutarch* it may be abundantly evidenced, that they fell into these Errors, not by paying too great a Deference to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable Scheme of Religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. If we look back and make a fair Enquiry, we must certainly allow, that Reason in these early Times, without the Assistance of Revelation, was not likely to offer any thing but superstitious Trifles; for the Frame and Course of Nature was not sufficiently understood to make Men Masters of true Philosophy. It seems easy to us to demonstrate the Being and Attributes of God by Reason, from the Works of his Creation; but we understand all the Hints given by the inspired Writers of the *Old Testament*, which are proper to lead us to a right Sense of these Things, much better than any of them were understood by the ancient Philosophers of the Heathen World; and by improving upon these Hints, we are arrived at truer Notions of the Works of God's Hands, than they were Masters of; but until Men were arrived at such a true Philosophy, the only certain way they had to know *the invisible things of God, even his invisible Power and Godhead*, in all Ages *from the Creation of the World*, was τοῖς ποιήμασι, *i.e. by the things which*

which he had done *(f)*; and the Heathen Nations *were without Excuſe*, becauſe God had ſufficiently manifeſted himſelf this Way, if inſtead of ſeeking after falſe Philoſophy, they would have attended to what he had revealed to them; they might have known *by Faith, that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God, ſo that the Things which are ſeen, were not made by thoſe Things which do appear* (*g*); *i. e.* they were the Works not of viſible Cauſes, but of an inviſible Agent. But when, inſtead of adhering to what had been revealed about theſe Matters, they imagined they might *profeſs themſelves wiſe* enough to find out theſe Truths in a better manner, by Reaſon and Philoſophy, *they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beaſts, and creeping Things (h)*; *they took the Lights of Heaven to be the Gods, which govern the World (i)*, and believed them animated by the Spirits of famous Men, and conſecrated Birds and Beaſts and Reptiles to them, and amaſſed together Heaps of *Mythology*; concerning which, when I conſider ſo great a Genius as *Plutarch*, gravely pronouncing, that there is nothing in them unreaſonable,

(*f*) Rom. i. 20. (*g*) Hebrews xi. 3. (*h*) Rom. i. 23.
(*i*) Wiſdom xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

idle,

idle, and ſuperſtitious, but that a good and moral, or hiſtorical, or philoſophical Reaſon may be given, for every Part of every Fable (*k*); I cannot but ſee plainly, that if God had not been pleaſed to have revealed himſelf to Men in the firſt Ages, many thouſands of Years would have paſſed, before Men could have acquired by Reaſon, ſuch a Knowledge of the Works of God, as to have obtained any juſt Sentiments of his Being or Worſhip.

The Writers of Antiquities have made Collections of Images and Pictures of the *Egyptian* Gods, in order to get the beſt light they could into the ancient Religion of this People, and F. *Montfaucon* has taken great Pains this Way; but if I may have leave to conjecture, (and more than that no one can do on this dark and intricate Subject) I ſhould ſuſpect, that moſt of the Figures exhibited by the learned Antiquaries for *Egyptian* Deities, were not deſigned for ſuch by thoſe who made them; moſt of thoſe, that were deſigned for Gods, are commonly but ill or falſely explained; and few, very few of them of great Antiquity, the greateſt Part being evidently made after the *Greeks* and *Romans* had broke in upon the *Egyptians*. It is indeed true, that the Sculpture in moſt

(*k*) Plutarch. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride. p. 353.

of

of the Figures in *Montfaucon*'s Collection ſeems ſo rude and vulgar, as to intimate them to have been made in the firſt and moſt early times of Carving, before that Art was brought to any Neatneſs or Appearance of Perfection; but the Rudeneſs of the Sculpture is no Proof of the Antiquity of *Egyptian* Images; for *Plato* expreſly tells us, that it was a Rule amongſt their Statuaries, to imitate the antique Shapes of the ancient Patterns, and that the Carvers were by Law reſtrained from all Attempts that looked like Innovation; ſo that the Art of Carving being thus limited, was never carried to any Perfection; but, as the ſame Author remarks, their moſt modern Statues were as ill ſhaped, as poorly carved, and as uncouth in Figure, as thoſe of the greateſt Antiquity (*a*). But the chief Reaſon we have to think the Relicks that are now deſcribed for Gods of *Egypt*, to be modern, is, that they are moſt of them of human Shape; and we find by an univerſal Conſent of all good Writers, that the ancient *Egyptian* Images were not of this Sort: As they had ſacred Animals dedicated to their ſeveral Gods, ſo the Images of theſe were their Idols. An Hawk was their ancient Image for *Oſiris*, a Sea-Horſe for *Typho*, a Dog for *Mercury*, a Cat for the Moon, and in

(*a*) Plato de Legibus, l. 2. p. 789.

the

the ſame manner other Images of Animals for other Deities *(b)*; and this introduced a Practice Analogous to it, even in their Pictures and Statues of Men. As they repreſented their Deities by the Figures of ſuch Animals as they imagined to exhibit ſome Shadows of their divine Qualities or Operations; the Moon by a Cat, becauſe a Cat varies its Eye, in their Opinion, according to the various *Phaſes* of the Moon; ſo they pictured or carved Men, in Figures that might repreſent, not their Viſage, Shape, or outward Form, but rather their Qualities or peculiar Actions. Thus a Sword was the known Repreſentation of *Ochus* *(c)*, a *Scarabæus* was the Picture of a courageous Warrior *(d)*; and we may obſerve, that the Prieſts of *Egypt* in *Ptolemy Soter*'s Time *(e)*, about *A. M.* 3700, were ſo little acquainted with Sculptures of human Form, that they could make no Conjectures about the *Coloſſus* which was brought from *Sinope*, but by conſidering the Figures of the Animals that were annexed to it. *Strabo* expreſly tells us, that the *Egyptian* Temples had no Images, or none of human Form, but

(*b*) Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride. (*c*) Οὕτως ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων ὁ κυνέως δήπου τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν σημαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέρπου τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ κακίαν ἐργάνῳ φονικῷ παρεικάζοντες. Id. ibid. (*d*) Id. ibid. (*e*) Id. ibid.

the

the Image of ſome Animal, which repreſented the Object of their Worſhip; and he recounts the ſeveral Animals, whoſe Figures were the reſpective Idols of particular Cities (*ee*); for ſome Cities paid their worſhip before the Images of ſome Animals, and ſome before thoſe of others. *Pauſanias* ſays, that *Danaus* dedicated Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα, perhaps an Image to *Apollo* in the Shape of a Wolf (*f*). He remarks, that the Statue which was in the Temple of this Deity when he wrote, was not that which *Danaus* had made, but was the Workmanſhip of a more modern Hand, namely of *Attalus* the *Athenian*. In *Attalus*'s Days, the Images of the Gods might be made in the human Form; but it is more agreeable to *Strabo*'s Obſervation, to think that the moſt ancient *Delubra* had either no Image at all, or the Image of ſome Beaſt, for the object of Worſhip (*g*). The *Iſraelites*, about *Danaus*'s Time, ſet up a Calf in the Wilderneſs, and of this ſort was moſt probably the Wooden Statue, which *Danaus* erected to *Apollo*; and perhaps from a Statue of this ſort the ancient *Argives* ſtampt their Coin with a Wolf's Head (*gg*). F. *Montfaucon* has given the Figures of ſeveral ſmall *Egyp-*

(*ee*) Strabo Geograph. l. 17. (*f*) Pauſan. in Corinth. l. 2. c. 19. (*g*) Strabo, l. 17. p. 805. (*gg*) Marſh. Can. p. 125.

tian

tian Statues ſwathed from Head to Foot like Mummies, which diſcover nothing but their Faces, and ſometimes their Hands *(h)*; theſe I think can never be taken for *Egyptian* Deities. *Plutarch* informs us, that they pictured their Judges and Magiſtrates in this Dreſs *(i)*, ſo that theſe were probably the Images of deceaſed Perſons, that had born thoſe Offices. We have ſeveral Repreſentations in the Draughts of the ſame learned Antiquary, which are ſaid to be *Iſis* holding, or giving ſuck to the Boy *Orus* *(k)*; but it ſhould be remarked, that *Orus* was not repreſented by the *Egyptians* by the Figure of a new-born Child: For *Plutarch* expreſly tells us, that a new-born Child was the *Egyptian* Picture of the Sun's-riſing *(l)*; and if ſo, why may we not imagine, that theſe Figures were the Monuments of ſome Eminent Aſtronomers? They might be repreſented with the Faces and Breaſts of Women, to ſignify, that the Obſervations which they had made, had been the Cauſe of great Plenty.

(*h*) *See* Montfaucon. Antiq. Vol. II. Part 2. B. 1. Plate 37. Fig. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Plate 38. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

(*i*) Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 355. (*k*) Montfaucon. ubi ſup. Plate 36. Fig. 3. Plate 37. Fig. 11. Plate 38. Fig. 9, 10, 11.

(*l*) Lib. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 355. Orus, *when in later Times Images of an human Form were introduced, was repreſented by a quite different Figure.* Ἐν Κόπτῳ τὸ Ἄγαλμα τὸ Ὥρου λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος διδοῦα κατέχειν. Plut. lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 373.

They

They have commonly ſome Plant ſprouting and flouriſhing upon their Heads, which probably, if well explained, would inſtruct us, what Part of *Agriculture* or Planting was improved by the Benefit of their learned Obſervations. One of them has the Head of a Cow, and a Bird's Head upon that (*m*); but I ſhould imagine, that we are not to gueſs from hence, that the *Egyptians* had received the *Greek* Fable about *Io*, as the learned Antiquary ſuggeſts; but that the Perſon hereby figured, was ſo eminent, as that he had the Names of two Deities given to him. As *Daniel* obtained ſuch a Reputation in the Court of *Babylon*, as to have a Name given him, compounded of the Names of two of their Deities, namely *Belteſhazzar* (*n*); ſo this Perſon, whoever he was, was ſo eminent in *Egypt*, as to be called by the Names of the two Deities put together; the Heads of whoſe ſacred Animals were for that Reaſon put upon his Statue. We meet with ſeveral Figures (*o*), ſaid to be deſigned for *Harpocrates*. All theſe Figures are Repreſentations of young Men with their Finger upon their Mouth, as a Token of their Silence; but why may we not ſuppoſe theſe to be Monuments of young *Egyptian* Students, who

(*m*) Montfauc. ubi ſup. Plate 36. Fig. 3. (*n*) Dan. i. 7. See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 331. (*o*) Montfauc. Plate 40. Fig. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. *in* Plate 41. *theſe Figures are numerous.*

died in their Novitiate, or firſt Years, whilſt Silence, according to the ancient Diſcipline, was enjoyned them? There are a variety of Figures of this ſort in various Dreſſes, and with various Symbols, all which, I imagine, might expreſs the different Attainments and Studies of the Perſons repreſented by them. *Jamblichus* remarks, that *Pythagoras*, when he rejected any of his Scholars, and after the five Years Silence, turned them out of his School, for their Defects and Inſufficiency, uſed to have Statues made for them as if they were dead (*p*). This perhaps might be the ancient Practice in *Egypt*, where *Pythagoras* long ſtudied; and ſome of the Images, which go for *Harpocrates*, might be *Egyptian* Students thus diſmiſſed their Schools; and the Defect of Symbols, and want of Ornament in ſome of them, may perhaps diſtinguiſh thoſe of this ſort from the other. *Plutarch* does indeed hint, that in his Times they had human Repreſentations of *Oſiris* in every City (*q*), and *Montfaucon* gives us a Figure in ſome Reſpects well anſwering to *Plutarch*'s Deſcription of the Statues of *Oſiris* (*r*); but if that be a Statue of *Oſiris*, it muſt be a modern one.

(*p*) Jamblichus de Vita Pythag. (*q*) Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 371. (*r*) Plutarch's *Words are*, Παντάχοῦ δ' ἀνθρωπομορφὸν Ὀσίριδος Ἄγαλμα δεικνύουσιν ἱερογλυφικώτερον τῷ αἰδοίῳ.

The

The Ancient Image of *Oſiris* was that of an Hawk (*s*), or he was ſometimes repreſented by the Picture of an Eye and a Scepter (*t*); and until later Times, Images and Repreſentations of him were very rare, and ſeldom to be met with (*u*), but when he came to be repreſented in the human Form, Sculptures of him were common (*w*). *Montfaucon* gives us the Figure of an Animal without Ears, which he calls a *Cynocephalus* (*x*), and ſuppoſes to be a Repreſentation of *Iſis*. *Plutarch* (*y*) tells us, that the *Cretans* anciently pictured *Jupiter* in this manner, and may we not imagine that this Figure was an ancient *Egyptian Jupiter*, and that the *Cretans* copied after them? I might enlarge upon this Subject, for I cannot help thinking, that even the Animal-Figures, like this Inſtance I have mentioned, are commonly decyphered amiſs; and that if the Learned would review their Accounts and Collections, and take the human Figures for Monuments of famous Men, made after the old *Egyptian* Cuſtom, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to picture not the Man, but his Manners, not his Perſon, but his Cha-

(*s*) Id. ibid. (*t*) Id. ibid. (*u*) Id. p. 382.

(*w*) Παιλαχῆ δεικνύουσιν, &c. (*x*) Antiq. Vol. II. Part. 2. Plate 42. Fig. 14. *See* Chap. xvi. §. 5.

(*y*) Ἐν Κρήτῃ Διὸς ὢν Ἄγαλμα μὴ ἔχον ὦτα. Lib. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 381.

racter, Station, and Honours, which he attained to: If the Animal-Figures were reviewed, if the *Egyptian* Aſtronomy could be examined, and it could be determined what particular Stars they worſhipped, and what Birds, Beaſts, or Reptiles were dedicated to them, I ſhould imagine, that we might obtain Accounts more ſerviceable towards illuſtrating their ancient Hiſtory, Politicks and Religion, than any yet extant. *Euſebius* gives us Hints of ſome ancient Repreſentations (z); but we find, I think, none, that much reſemble them, in the Collections of our preſent Antiquaries; and yet the *Hereticks* who lived about *Plutarch*'s Time, in the ſecond Century, namely *Baſilides*, *Saturninus*, and *Carpocras*, who introduced the *Egyptian* Symbols and Figures into their Religion, formed many, much like thoſe

(z) Ἐπενόησε τῷ Κρόνῳ φάσημα βασιλείας, ὄμματα τέσσαρα· ὧν τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο μὲν ὑπνοῦντα μύοντα, καὶ ὅπη τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν ὡς ἱπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα· —— τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἑκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων· —— Κρόνῳ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆς πτερὰ δύο. —— Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσι, περιθέασι αὐτῷ ἱέρακος κεφαλὴν. —— τὸ πρῶτον καὶ θειότατόν [ὄφιν] Ὄφις ἱέρακος ἔχων μορφὴν· —— Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀερουσῆ καὶ πυρώδη χαράττουσι καὶ μέσον τεταμένον Ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον· καὶ τὰ πᾶν χῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Θῆτα· τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μιμούμενοι, τὸν δὲ μέσον Ὄφιν σωτηρικὸν τοῦτον ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

mentioned

mentioned by *Euſebius*, as may be ſeen by conſulting *Montfaucon*'s Plates of the Gems called *Abraxas*. Whether we have now any Copies, or but very few, of the truly ancient *Egyptian* Idols, whether the greateſt Part of what are offered to us, be not Copies taken from Schemes and Forms more recent, than even the Times of *Plutarch*, or of *Euſebius*, I intirely ſubmit to the Opinion of the Learned.

F. Montfaucon has given a Draught of a very celebrated Piece of Antiquity called the Table of *Iſis*, which was a Table made of Braſs, almoſt four foot long, and of pretty near the ſame Breadth. The Ground-work was a black Enamel, and it was curiouſly filled with Silver Plates inlaid, which repreſented Figures of various Sorts, diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral *Claſſes* and Copartments, and decyphered by various *Hieroglyphics* interſperſed. This Table fell into the Hands of a common Artificer, when the City of *Rome* was taken and plundered by the Army of *Charles* V. about the Year 1527; and it was ſold by him to Cardinal *Bembo*, at whoſe Death it came to the Duke of *Mantua*, and was kept as a valuable Rarity by the Princes of that Houſe, until the Year 1630, when the Town and Palace of *Mantua* were plundered by the Emperor's General, who carried off an immenſe Treaſure of Curioſities, which the Princes of this Houſe had

collected; and amongſt the reſt this Table of *Iſis*, the Original of which having never been found ſince this time, is ſuppoſed to have been broken in Pieces by ſome Perſon into whoſe Hands it might fall; who not underſtanding what it was, might think the Silver Plates that were inlaid, to be the only valuable Parts of it, and therefore brake it for the ſake of them. *Pignorius* gave the World a Draught, and an Account of this Table, in a Book by him publiſhed at *Amſterdam A. D.* 1670; and from his Draught *Montfaucon* has taken the Copy, which he has given us. The Table of *Iſis* is ſaid to be ſo called, becauſe it repreſents the Form and Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Iſis* (*a*); but it is remarkable, that the very Writers who expreſs the greateſt Inclination to repreſent *Iſis* as the chief and principal Goddeſs, upon Account of repreſenting whom the whole Table was compoſed, cannot but acknowledge it to contain "all the Divinities of "*Egypt* of every Kind, and that it might "properly be called a general Table of the "Religion and Superſtitions of *Egypt*" (*b*). *F. Montfaucon* acknowledges, that no one can determine, whether this Table repreſents ſome Hiſtory of the *Egyptian* Gods, or ſome obſcure *Syſtem* of the Religion of

(*a*) Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. I. Part 2. B. 2. c. 1.
(*b*) Id. ibid.

that

that Country, or of the Ceremonies of that Religion, or ſome moral Inſtruction, or many of theſe together. And *Pignorius* was ſo far from being confident, that he could ſufficiently explain this Table, that he confeſſed, that he did not fully comprehend the Deſign of it, nor know the certain Signification of its ſeveral Parts; that he only pretended to venture to make ſome Conjectures about it, but that he could not ſay, that he had hit the Deſign of the Compoſer; that both theſe learned Men leave room for any one to conjecture about it as they did, without incurring Cenſure for differing from them. And if I may take this Liberty, I ſhould imagine, 1. That this Table was not made until after Genuflexion was uſed in the Worſhip of the Heathen Deities. This Cuſtom began pretty early; The Worſhippers of *Baal*, in the Time of *Ahab*, bowed the knees to *Baal* (*c*), and this Practice of kneeling was uſed before this Time by the true Worſhippers of God. *Solomon* kneeled down upon his Knees, when he prayed at the Dedication of the Temple (*d*); and this Poſture of Worſhip is mentioned *Pſalm* xcv (*e*). At what time it was firſt introduced into the Heathen Worſhip I cannot ſay, but we find in the Border round the Table

(*c*) 1 Kings xix. 18. (*d*) Chap. viii. 54. 2 Chron. vi. 13.
(*e*) Ver. 6.

of *Iſis*, no leſs than nineteen Perſons in this Poſture of Adoration. 2. We find no one Perſon in this Poſture in the Table it ſelf: All the Figures in the Table, are either ſtanding, or ſitting, or in a moving Poſture. 3. In the Border all the Images that kneel, are repreſented as paying their Worſhip to ſome Animal-Figure: There is not one Inſtance or Repreſentation of this Worſhip paid to an Image of human Form, either on the Border, or in the Table. 4. The ſeveral Animals repreſented in the Border, as receiving Worſhip from their Adorers, agree very nearly, both in Number and Shape, with the ſeveral Animals deſcribed by *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Euſebius*, and other Writers, to be the Objects of Worſhip in the ſeveral Cities of *Egypt* (*f*). 5. The human Figures in the Table are diſtinguiſhed by the Animal-Repreſentation of ſome Deity annexed to, or put over or under them. 6. There are five Figures in the Table of an human Form deſcribed in a ſitting Poſture, and two of them very remarkable, one of which has the Head of an *Ibis*, and the other of an Hawk; but Figures of the ſame Form are repreſented in the Border of the Table on their Knees, as worſhipping ſome Animal-Figure placed before them. The human

(*f*) Strabo. l. 17. Plut. lib. de Iſid. & Oſirid. Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. in var. loc. Herodot. l. 2. &c.

Picture

Picture with the Hawk's Head is repreſented to worſhip a ſort of *Scarabeus*, that with the Head of the *Ibis* is pictured as worſhipping the *Apis* or Bull. Theſe are the ſeveral Obſervations, which muſt occur to any one, who carefully views and compares the ſeveral Parts of this Table; and from theſe Obſervations it appears moſt probable, I. That the Border round about the Table exhibits the ſeveral ſacred Animals worſhipped in *Egypt* when this Table was made, with their reſpective Prieſts paying Worſhip to them. II. The Table it ſelf repreſents the ſeveral Prieſts of ſome of theſe Deities in their ſeveral Habits, performing not actual Worſhip, but ſome other Offices of their Miniſtrations. The Animal-Figures annexed to them, point out what particular Gods they were reſpectively the Prieſts of; and moſt probably the *Hieroglyphics* and ſacred Letters inſcribed to each of them would tell us, if we could read them, what particular Office of their Miniſtration they are deſcribed as performing. III. The Figures delineated in the ſitting Poſture, (like Figures to which are in the Border repreſented in Poſtures of Worſhip to particular Animals) ſeem to me to be deſigned for Monuments of ſome eminent Prieſts, who had Images made in Honour of their Memory when dead; which Images might perhaps upon ſome Occaſions be carried in Proceſſions, and

are

are therefore here delineated. The *Ibis* and Hawk's Head, fixed upon the Shoulders of two of them, was according to the ancient Uſage of picturing, not the Perſon of the Men, but the Dignity or Honours they attained to. Theſe two Perſons were honoured with the Names of the Gods, whoſe ſacred *Symbols*, or Animal-Figures, were for that Reaſon put upon them. IV. *F. Montfaucon* wanders unaccountably from the apparent Meaning of this Table, in ſuppoſing many of the human Figures to be *Iſis* and *Oſiris* preſenting Goblets and Birds and Staves to one another, when no ancient Writers hint any ſort of Accounts, that they were ever repreſented as engaged in ſuch trifling Entercourſes, and when all thoſe Figures may better be ſuppoſed to be different Prieſts, employed in different Offices and Miniſtrations of their Religion. V. It does not appear from this Table, that the *Egyptians* worſhipped any Idols of human Shape, at the Time when this Table was compoſed, but rather on the contrary, all the Images herein repreſented, before which any Perſons are deſcribed in Poſtures of Adoration, being the Figures of Birds, Beaſts or Fiſhes; this Table ſeems to have been delineated, before the *Egyptians* worſhipped the Images of Men and Women, which was the laſt and loweſt Step of their Idolatry.

From

From what I have offered about the ſeveral Steps, which the *Egyptians* took in the Progreſs of their Superſtitions and Idolatry, it will be eaſy to determine what their Religion was, when *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, or *Danaus* left *Egypt*; and conſequently what Religion or Deities theſe Men may be ſuppoſed to have introduced into *Greece*. The *Egyptians* had dedicated ſacred Animals to their Sidereal Deities, before theſe Men left them: All their other Innovations were more Modern, and conſequently this Practice theſe Men carried with them into Foreign Countries. The *Greeks*, in the firſt Days of their Idolatry, worſhipped, as the *Egyptians* did, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and Elements (*a*). In After-Ages they worſhipped Heroe-Gods, but theſe not until about the Time of *Homer*. *Herodotus* ſays expreſly, that *Heſiod* and *Homer* introduced theſe Deities (*b*); I ſhould think them ſomething earlier, but not much. The *Greeks* worſhipped their Gods without any Images of any ſort, until after *Oenotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* led his Colony into *Italy* (*c*); and agreeably hereto, *Pauſanias* remarks of ſome very ancient *Delubra*, which he ſaw at *Haliartus* a City of *Bœotia*, that they had no ſort of Images (*d*). *Lycaon* the Fa-

(*a*) Plato in Cratylo. (*b*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 53.
(*c*) *See* Vol. I. Book 5. (*d*) Pauſan. in Bœoticis c. 33.

ther

ther of *Oenotrus* was cotemporary with *Cecrops*, the firſt of the Travellers who came to *Greece* from *Egypt* (*e*); and moſt probably *Danaus*, the laſt of them, introduced the Image of a Wolf, for the Direction of his Worſhip to *Apollo Lycius* (*f*); ſo that from all theſe Circumſtances it is very plain, that the Images of Animals were firſt ſet up as Idols in *Greece*, much about the Time of, and by the Direction of theſe Men. As the *Iſraelites* made a Calf in *Horeb* after their Patterns, ſoon after *Moſes* had led them out of *Egypt*, about *A. M.* 2513; ſo much about this Time the *Greeks* were led into the ſame ſort of Idolatry, by the *Egyptian* Travellers, who came to live amongſt them. *Danaus* taught them to worſhip *Apollo*, *i. e.* the Sun, in the Form of a Wolf, and it is very probable that he gave them the Images of other Animals for the Worſhip of other Deities. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Greeks* anciently made a Bull for the Image of *Bacchus* (*g*); and the modern Images of their Gods, made after their Heroes were deify'd, and human Forms introduced, have commonly ſuch Symbols of Birds, Beaſts, or Fiſhes annexed, as to hint to us what their ſacred Animals were, whoſe Figures were made uſe of in their Worſhip, before they came

(*e*) Pauſan. in Arcadicis c. 2 (*f*) Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 19.
(*g*) Plutarch. in lib. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 364.

to

to be repreſented by human Images. The Eagle was the Bird of the *Græcian Jupiter*, the Peacock of *Juno*, the Owl of *Minerva*, the Dolphin or Sea-Horſe was ſacred to *Neptune*, the Ram, the Cock, and other Animals to *Mercury*; and the Images of theſe and other Animals were undoubtedly made uſe of at firſt as Idols in the Worſhip of the reſpective Deities they belonged to, inſtead of Images of thoſe Deities. In later Ages, when the Images of their Gods were made in human Shapes, then the Figures of their ſacred Animals were annexed as Symbols; and ſo we commonly now find them, in the Statues or Draughts we have of theſe Deities. As true Religion was at firſt one and the ſame to all the World, which it certainly would not have been, had it not been at firſt appointed by poſitive Directions from God, and expreſs Revelation; ſo Men in all Nations upon Earth defaced and corrupted this univerſal Religion, by Steps and Degrees very much the ſame. Animal-Figures were introduced into the Idolatry of moſt Nations, and I might add inanimate ones too. The *Egyptians* pictured *Oſiris* by a Sceptre, the *Greeks* anciently repreſented *Juno* by the (*h*) Trunk of a Tree, and *Caſtor* and *Pollux* by two Croſs-Beams; and *Clemens Alexandrinus*,

(*h*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. p. 348.

remarks

remarks from *Varro*, that the ancient *Romans*, before they had learned to give to their Gods human Shapes, worſhipped a Spear inſtead of an Image of *Mars* (*i*).

It is generally repreſented, that *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and *Danaus*, built Temples in the ſeveral Countries that they travell'd to; but this is a Miſtake, ariſing from a careleſs reading of what the ancient Writers remark of them. The *Latin* Tranſlator of *Diodorus Siculus* ſays that *Danaus* built a Temple to *Minerva* at *Rhodes*, and that *Cadmus* obliged himſelf by Vow to build a Temple to *Neptune*; but *Diodorus* himſelf ſays no ſuch thing; his Expreſſion is, that they ἱδρύσαντο ἱερὸν, not built a Temple, but appointed or dedicated a Place of Worſhip: and thus the Author himſelf explains it, by telling us how *Cadmus* performed his Vow, διασωθεὶς ἱδρύσατο τέμενος (*k*), upon his being preſerved, he ſet out a Piece of Ground for the Place of the Worſhip of the God who had preſerved him (*l*): He did ſomething like to what *Jacob* did at *Bethel* (*m*), when he ſet up the Pillar, and poured Oil upon the Top of it, and made a Vow, that that Place ſhould be God's Houſe: *Jacob* did not de-

(*i*) Clem. Alex. Cohortat. ad Gentes. p. 41. Edit. Oxon.
(*k*) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 329. (*l*) *The ſtrict and proper Signification of the Word* τέμενος, *derived from* τέμνω, *is, a Part or Portion of Land ſeparated or ſet apart for ſome ſacred Uſe.*
(*m*) Gen. xxviii.

ſign

ſign to erect any Building in that Place; but only meant, that he would come to worſhip there; which the Ancients in theſe Days did, not in Temples, but in Groves, or at Altars erected in the open Air, or in Spaces of Ground marked out and encloſed for that Purpoſe; and of this Sort were the ancient τεμένη of the Heathens. Temples were far more modern than the Days of *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, or *Danaus*. *Moſes* obſerves that *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, frequently built Altars where-ever they fixed their Habitations; and agreeable to this ancient Practice, *Euſebius* ſays of *Cecrops*, that he raiſed an Altar at *Athens* (*n*), and we meet with this Practice amongſt the firſt Inhabitants of *Greece*: they are ſaid to have erected theſe βῶμοι, *i.e.* Altars, in all Parts of their Country, as is remarked by *Pauſanias*; and I believe I may add that we have not any one Paſſage in any good Writer of ſufficient Authority to induce us to think, that there were any Temples in the World before the *Jewiſh* Tabernacle was erected, or before it was known that the *Jews* were directed to build a Temple, when they ſhould be ſettled in the Land of *Canaan*, *in the Place which the Lord* their *God* ſhould *chooſe* to cauſe his Name to dwell there (*o*). We may indeed meet

(*n*) Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 9. (*o*) Deut. xii. 11.

with

with the Word Ναὸς in *Pauſanias*, and in *Homer*, and in diverſe other Writers, and if we always tranſlate that Word *Temple*, as we commonly do, it may miſ-lead us to think Temples much more ancient than they really were; but we may remark from *Pauſanias* that the Word Ναὸς was at firſt uſed as the Word *Beth*, or Houſe, in *Hebrew*, and did not always ſignify a Structure or a Temple, but only a Place ſet a-part for God's Worſhip. Thus *Jacob* called the Place where he lay down to ſleep *Beth-el*, or the Houſe of God (*p*), and thus the Temples or Ναοὶ at *Haliartus*, mentioned by *Pauſanias*, were open to the Air; they were only Incloſures ſet a-part for the Worſhip of their Gods, but they were not covered Buildings or Temples (*q*). When the Heathen Nations firſt built Temples, they were but ſmall and of mean Figure, probably deſigned only to defend the Image of their Idol from the Weather, and to lay up the Inſtruments that were uſed in the Performance of their Sacrifices; The Houſe of *Dagon* amongſt the *Philiſtins* was, I believe, of this ſort (*r*); and thus we are told, that there was a ſmall Temple at *Rome* made in the early Ages for the Reception of the (*ſ*) *Trojan Penates*. And certainly Temples made no great Fi-

(*p*) Gen. xxviii. 22. (*q*) Pauſan. in Bœoticis. c. 33.
(*r*) 1 Samuel v. 2. (*ſ*) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. c. 68.

gure in *Homer*'s Time; for if they had, he would have given us at leaſt one Deſcription of a Temple, in ſome Part either of the *Iliad* or *Odyſſey*. Before *Virgil*'s Time they were built with great Pomp and Magnificence, and accordingly he has deſcrib'd *Dido*'s building a Temple (*r*) to *Juno* at *Carthage* with all imaginable Elegance. *Homer* would not have loſt an Opportunity of exerting his great Genius upon ſo grand a Subject, if Temples had in his Days made a Figure that could poſſibly have ſhined in his Poem: The true Worſhippers of God did at firſt worſhip in the open Fields, and ſo did the ancient and firſt Idolaters: *Abraham* ſet apart a Place for his private Addreſſes, He *planted a Grove in Beerſheba, and called there on the Name of the Lord, the everlaſting God (s)*; and after this Pattern Groves were much in uſe in all the idolatrous Nations, and τεμένη Allotments of Ground, or ſacred Fields or Encloſures in every Country for the Worſhip of their ſeveral Gods. When the *Jews* were gone out of *Egypt*, and God had appointed them a moveable Temple or Tabernacle, the Heathen Nations imitated this too; and thus we read of a portable Temple or Tabernacle made to *Moloch (t)*; and when it came to be known, that the *Iſraelites* were to build

(*r*) Æneid. 1. (*s*) Gen. xxi. 33. (*t*) Acts vii. 43.

an Houſe to their God, when they ſhould be ſettled in their Land, then the Heathen Nations began to build Houſes to their Deities, and *Dagon* the God of the *Philiſtins* had an Houſe, into which the Ark of God, when it was taken in Battle, was carried in the Days of *Eli* (*u*); but theſe Houſes of their Gods were not large until after *Solomon*'s Time. After he had built the Temple of *Jeruſalem* according to the Pattern which *David* had given him (*w*), foreign Kings by degrees began to copy after him, and endeavoured to build Temples with great Splendor and Magnificence; but when *Solomon* was to build his Temple, it is evident from his own Words, that the Heathen Temples were not near ſo large and magnificent as his Deſign. *The Houſe which I build* (ſaid he) *is great*; *for great is our God above all Gods* (*x*). His Deſign exceeded all other Plans, as the God he worſhipped was ſuperior to the Heathen Idols.

I am ſenſible that Dr. *Spencer* has endeavoured to prove, that both the *Jewiſh* Tabernacles and Temples were erected in Imitation of the Places of Worſhip made uſe of by the Heathen Nations; but whoever ſhall take the Pains to conſider what this learned Writer has offer'd upon

(*u*) 1 Samuel v. 2.
(*w*) 1 Chronic. xxviii. 11, 12.
(*x*) 2 Chron. ii. 5.

this

this Subject, will be ſurprized that he could be ſatisfied with ſuch ſlender Proofs in favour of his Opinion: But Dr. *Spencer*'s darling *Hypotheſis*, of which what he offers about Temples is only a Part, is an unaccountable Miſtake for a Writer of ſo great Learning to fall into; and what he has produced in the ſeveral Parts of his laborious Work, will abundantly prove to every one, that will take the Pains duly to weigh and conſider the ſeveral Texts of Scripture, and Authorities cited by him, that no Learning can be ſufficient to evince, that the *Jewiſh* Religion was derived from the Cuſtoms and Practices of the Heathen Nations; but that on the contrary, moſt of the Citations upon this Subject will evidence in a much clearer manner, that a great Part of the Heathen Ceremonies and Practices was introduced into their Worſhip and Religion, in Imitation of what God had by Revelation appointed to his Servants.

The SACRED *and* PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

BOOK IX.

WE left the Children of *Iſrael* u
der Difficulties in *Egypt*, d
ſtreſſed by all poſſible Meaſu
the King could take to ke
them low: In the time of this Afflict
Moſes was born: His Mother hid him
three Months (*a*), and when ſhe co
not hide him any longer, nor bear
Thoughts of having him thrown into
River; ſhe made a ſort of Cheſt or B
ket, put the Infant into it, and ſet it

(*a*) Exodus ii.

mo

mongſt the Bullruſhes near the Bank of the River, and there left it to God's Providence. The King's Daughter came to the River, heard the Child cry, and examined the Basket, and was ſtruck with the Sight of the weeping Infant, and determined to preſerve it. *Moſes*'s Siſter ſtood at ſome Diſtance to ſee what would become of him; and upon the Princeſs's being inclined to take Care of him, ſhe mixed with her Attendants, and offered to procure a fit Nurſe for the Child. The Princeſs liked the Propoſal, and the Girl hereupon called *Moſes*'s own Mother, and the Princeſs put him out to nurſe to her. And thus by a wonderful Providence *Moſes* was preſerved, and nurſed by his own Mother for a time, but afterwards taken to Court, and educated there by the Favour of the Princeſs as her own Son; inſtructed in all the Learning of the *Egyptians* (*b*), and became a Man of great Eminence amongſt them; was made General and Leader of their Armies, and fought ſome Battels with great Conduct and Succeſs (*c*). The Princeſs had no Children, nor the King her Father any Male-heir, and it is thought that ſhe adopted *Moſes* for her Son, and that her Father deſigned him

(*b*) Acts vii. 22. (*c*) Joſephus Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 10.

to be King of *Egypt* (*d*); but *Moſes* declined this Advancement, as a Scheme that would deprive him, and his Poſterity, of the Bleſſings which God had promiſed to the *Hebrew* Nation, who were to be but Strangers in *Egypt* for a time (*e*). He had a full Belief that God would make good his Promiſes to them, and *by Faith he refuſed to be called the Son of* Pharaoh's *Daughter* (*f*). Under a full Perſuaſion of the Certainty of thoſe things, which God had promiſed, he turned his Eye and Heart from the Crown of *Egypt*, to the Afflictions of his Brethren, and rather wiſhed, that it would pleaſe God to have him lead them out of *Egypt* to the promiſed Land, than to ſway the *Egyptian* Scepter. He went amongſt them dayly, and viewed their Condition, and upon ſeeing an *Egyptian* ſevere with one of them

(*d*) Joſephus *relates, that the Princeſs having no Child adopted* Moſes, *and brought him whilſt a Child to her Father, and admiring both the Beauty of his Perſon, and the promiſing Appearance of a* Genius *in him, wiſhed he would appoint him to be his Succeſſor, ſince ſhe ſhould have no Children: That the King hereupon in a pleaſant Humour put his Crown upon the Child's Head; and that* Moſes *took it off, and laid it upon the Ground, and there play'd with it, and turned it about with his Feet. One of the Prieſts, that attended, thought his Actions ominous, and was earneſt to have him killed, as a Perſon that would be fatally miſchievous to the* Egyptian *Crown; but the Princeſs here again ſaved him from Deſtruction*, &c. See Joſephus Antiq. l. 2. c. 9.

(*e*) Gen. xv. 13. xlvi. 4. & l. 24.

(*f*) Hebrews xi. 24.

he killed him (*g*). The next Day he found two *Hebrews* in Conteſt with one another, he admoniſhed them to conſider that they were Brethren, and would have decided their Quarrel; thinking, that they would conſider him as a Perſon likely to deliver them out of their Bondage (*h*), and that they would have ſubmitted their Difference to him; but they had no ſuch Thoughts about him: His Arbitration was rejected with Contempt, and one of them upbraided him with his killing the *Egyptian* (*i*). And thus he ſaw, that the People were not likely to follow his Directions, if he ſhould attempt to contrive their leaving *Egypt*: And he imagined, that his Violence to the *Egyptian* might be known to *Pharaoh*; and he found, that his ſpending ſo much of his Time amongſt the *Hebrews*, had made his Conduct much ſuſpected, and that the King had determined to put him to Death; ſo that he thought it prudent to leave *Egypt*, and therefore went to *Midian* to *Jethro*, the Prieſt and chief Inhabitant of that Country, and lived with him as Keeper of his Flocks, and married one of his Daughters (*k*). He continued here forty Years. *Jethro* was perhaps deſcended from *Abraham* by *Ke-*

(*g*) Exodus ii. 11, 12. Acts vii. 24. (*h*) Ver. 25.
(*i*) Exodus ii. 14. Acts vii. 27, 28. (*k*) Exodus ii. 21.

turah his ſecond Wife (*l*). *Moſes* was forty Years old, when he firſt thought of relieving the *Iſraelites* (*m*), and he was forty Years in *Midian* (*n*), being eighty Years (*o*) old when he led the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*; and the *Exit* of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt* will appear hereafter to be *A. M.* 2513; ſo that *Moſes* was born *A. M.* 2433.

Joſephus relates ſeveral particulars of *Moſes*, which we find no Hints of in the Books of Scripture: He has a large Account of a War with the *Ethiopians*, in which *Moſes* was Commander of the *Egyptian* Armies. He reports him to have beſieged *Saba* the Capital City of *Ethiopia*, and to have taken the City, and married *Tharbis* the King of *Ethiopia*'s Daughter (*p*); and very probably this Account of *Joſephus* might be one Inducement to our *Engliſh* Tranſlators of the Bible to render *Numbers* xii. 1. *And Miriam and Aaron ſpake againſt Moſes, becauſe of the Ethiopian Woman whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian Woman.* *Euſebius* gives an hint about the *Ethiopians*, which favours this *Egyptian* War with them, mentioned by *Joſephus*. He ſays, the *Ethiopians* came and ſettled in

(*l*) Joſephus Antiq. l. 2 c. 11. (*m*) Acts vii 23.
(*n*) Ver. 30. (*o*) Exodus vii. 7. (*p*) Joſephus Antiq. l. 2. c. 10.

Egypt

Egypt in the time of *Amenophis* (*q*), and he places *Amenophis*'s Reign ſo as to end it about 431 Years after *Abraham*'s Birth, *i. e. A. M.* 2439; ſo that according to this Account the *Ethiopians* were a new Set of People, who planted themſelves in the Parts adjacent to *Egypt* much about *Moſes*'s Time; and perhaps they might invade ſome Part of *Egypt*, or incommode ſome of the Inhabitants of it, and ſo occaſion the War upon them which *Joſephus* mentions. According to *Philoſtratus* (*r*) there was no ſuch Country as *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt* until this Migration; Theſe People came, according to *Euſebius*, from the River *Indus* (*s*), and planted themſelves in the Parts beyond *Egypt* Southward, and ſo began the Kingdom, called afterwards the *Ethiopian*. There are many Hints in ſeveral ancient Writers, which agree to this Opinion of the *Ethiopians* near to *Egypt* being derived from a People of that Name in the Eaſtern Countries. *Homer* mentions two *Ethiopian* Nations, one placed in the weſtern Parts, another in the Eaſtern.

Αἰθίοπάς τ' οἰ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσομένυ Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. Odyſſ. l. 1.

Strabo indeed endeavours to ſhew, that

(*q*) Euſeb. in Chron. ad Num. 402. (*r*) In Vit. Apollon. Tyanei. l. 3. c. 6. (*s*) In Chron. ubi ſup.

the

the true Meaning of this Paſſage is generally miſtaken, and that *Homer* did not intend by it, that there were two *Ethiopian* Nations in Parts of the World ſo diſtant as *Egypt* and *India* (*t*); but the Remarks of other Writers do, I think, determine *Homer*'s Words to this Senſe, more clearly, than *Strabo*'s Arguments refute it. *Herodotus* ſays, that there were two *Ethiopian* Nations, and he places one of them in the Eaſtern Parts of the World, and reckons them amongſt the *Indians*, and the other in the Parts near *Egypt* (*u*); and *Apollonius* was of the ſame Opinion, and ſays, that the *African Ethiopians* came from *India* (*w*), and he ſuppoſes them to be Maſters of the ancient *Indian* Learning, brought by their Forefathers from *India* to *Ethiopia* (*x*). *Euſtathius* hints, that the *Ethiopians* came from *India* (*y*). Thus the *Ethiopians* were a People who wandered from their ancient Habitations, and ſettled in the Parts near *Egypt* about the time in which *Moſes* lived, and very probably they and the *Egyptians* might have ſome Conteſts about ſettling the Bounds of their Country, ſo as that *Egypt* might not be invaded by them; and perhaps *Joſephus* might have Reaſon, from ancient

(*t*) See Strabo Geogr. l. 1. p. 29. l. 2. p. 103.
(*u*) Herodot. l. 7. c. 70. (*w*) Argonaut. l. 6. c. 1. c. 4. l. 6. c. 6. (*x*) Id. ib. c. 8. (*y*) In Dionyſ. p. 35.

Remains,

Remains, to relate that *Moſes* was engaged in accommodating this Affair, tho' it is evident that *Joſephus* has added to the Account ſome Particulars not true. *Saba*, which *Joſephus* ſuppoſes to be the Capital City of *Ethiopia*, was a City of *Arabia*, and *Moſes* did not marry the King of *Ethiopia*'s Daughter, as *Joſephus* ſuppoſes; but it is eaſy to conjecture how *Joſephus* was led into theſe Miſtakes. The LXX in their Tranſlation, which *Joſephus* was very fond of, render the Land of *Cuſh*, as our *Engliſh* Tranſlators have done, the Land of *Ethiopia*; and *Joſephus* finding that *Saba* was an Head-City in the Land of *Cuſh* or *Arabia*, taking *Cuſh* according to the LXX to be *Ethiopia*, he ſuppoſed *Saba* to be the capital City of that Country, and perhaps finding alſo that *Moſes* married a *Cuſhite* Woman, (which was indeed true, for he married the Daughter of *Jethro* the *Arabian*) here he miſtook again, and tranſlating *Cuſh Ethiopia*, he married *Moſes* to *Tarbis* the King of *Ethiopia*'s Daughter.

Whilſt *Moſes* lived in *Midian*, he is ſuppoſed to have uſed the Leiſure which he enjoyed there, in writing his Book of *Geneſis*, and ſome Writers ſay the Book of *Job* alſo. The Matters treated in both theſe Books were indeed extremely proper to be laid before the *Iſraelites*: For in one of them they might have a full and clear View of the Hiſtory of the World,

ſo

ſo far as they were concerned in it; of the Creation of Mankind; of their own Origin; of the Promiſes which God had made to their Fathers; ſo that it would give them the beſt Account of their Condition and Expectations: And in the other, they might ſee a very inſtructive Pattern of Patience and Reſignation to the Will of God, in the Life of a virtuous Perſon, led from a great Share of worldly Proſperity, into the moſt afflicting Circumſtances; and after a due time of Trial, brought back again to greater Proſperity than ever: A Subject very fit to be repreſented to them, when the *Egyptian* Bondage preſſed hard upon them, and they might want, not only to know the good Things which God deſigned to give them, but to have alſo ſome ſuch particular Example as that of *Job*, to remind them to poſſeſs their Souls in Patience, until the Time ſhould come, that God ſhould think fit to end their Troubles. But tho' the ſubject Matters contained in theſe Books, may very juſtly be repreſented to be very ſuitable to the Circumſtances of the *Iſraelites* in this Juncture, yet I cannot find any other Reaſon to think that *Moſes* wrote the Book of *Job* at all, or that he compoſed that of *Geneſis* at this Time. Some Authors have imagined, that the Book of *Geneſis* was compoſed laſt of all the five Books of *Moſes*; but as this Opinion

Opinion is mere Conjecture, ſo, it muſt be confeſſed, is all that can be ſaid about the preciſe Time of his writing any of them. As to the Book of *Job*; There are many Opinions amongſt the Learned about the Writer of it; but none of them ſo well ſupported with Arguments, as to leave no room to doubt in our admitting it. What ſeems moſt probable, is, that *Job* himſelf, who could beſt tell all the Circumſtances of his Condition, and of what paſſed in the Conferences which He had with his Friends, did ſome time before he died leave a written Account of it; but that the Book of *Job*, which we now have, is not the very Account which was written by *Job*, but that ſome inſpired Writer, who lived later than his Days, compoſed it, from the Memoirs left by him. The preſent Book of *Job* is the greateſt Part of it written in Verſe; and I ſuppoſe no one will imagine, that Poetry was attempted ſo early as the Days of *Job*. Some later Hand muſt put what *Job* left into the Meaſure, which was thought ſuitable to ſuch a Subject; but whether this was done by the Hand of *Moſes*, or *Solomon*, or ſome other of the inſpired Writers of the *Old Teſtament*, no one can determine; tho' I ſhould think it ſeems moſt probable, that it was not done ſo early as the Days of *Moſes*.

St. *Je-*

St. *Jerom* informs us (*c*), that the Verſe of the Book of *Job* is *Heroic*. From the beginning of the Book to the third Chapter, he ſays, is Proſe; but from *Job*'s Words, *Let the Day periſh wherein I was born*, (*d*) &c. unto theſe Words, *Wherefore I abhor my ſelf, and repent in Duſt and Aſhes* (*e*); are *Hexameter* Verſes, conſiſting of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, like the *Greek* Verſes of *Homer*, or the *Latin* of *Virgil*. *Marianus Victorius*, in his Note upon this Paſſage of St. *Jerom*, ſays, that he has examined the Book of *Job*, and finds St. *Jerom*'s Obſervation to be true. I have endeavour'd my ſelf to make Trial, but cannot ſay that I find the Experiment to anſwer exactly to their Account. I cannot make the Words run into *Hexameter* Verſes only, but ſhould rather think every other Line to be a *Pentameter*. If the Reader will put the *Hebrew* words into *Latin* Characters, making due Allowance for the Difficulty of expreſſing the *Hebrew* Sounds in our Letters, he may perhaps admit, that the 3d, 4th, and part of the 5th verſe of the iiid chapter of *Job*, to the end of theſe Words, *Let Darkneſs and the Shadow of Death ſtain it*, runs, in the following Words, according to the Meaſure ſubjoined under them.

(*c*) Præfat. in Lib. Job. (*d*) Job iii. 3.
(*e*) Chap. xlii. 6.

Jobad

Jobad Jom ivvalæd bo ve ha Lailah Amar
- - -- - - - - v v -vv - -
Carah gaber haijom hahua jehi choſhek
- v v - - - - vv - v v -
Al jidreſhu eloah Mimnal ve al topan alaiv
- - - v v -- - - - - v v - -
Nahrah jegalhu choſhek vetzlemaveh teſhecon
- v v - v v - - v v - v v -

I cannot be poſitive, that I have exactly hit the true ſpelling of the *Hebrew* Words, but I cannot be far from it; and I think that I could ſo write what follows in the Book of *Job*, as to make it fall into this ſort of Verſe and Meaſure; and the Experiment would, I believe, ſucceed always in like manner, if try'd any where with the Words in this Book, beginning with chap. iii. 3. and ending at chap. xlii. 7. only the ſeveral Sentences, which direct us to the ſeveral Speakers, ſuch as theſe; *Moreover the Lord anſwered Job and ſaid*, chap. xl. 1. *Elihu alſo proceeded and ſaid*, chap. xxxvi. 1. *Elihu ſpake moreover and ſaid*, chap. xxxv. 1. *Then Job anſwered and ſaid*, chap. xxiii. 1. All theſe, and ſuch other Sentences as theſe, which occur in many Places, to inform us who is the Speaker, or to connect different Speeches and Argumentations, are in Proſe, and not in Verſe. At what Time this ſort of Verſe began is very uncertain, but perhaps not altogether ſo early as the Days

Days of *Moſes*. *Heroic* Verſe was wrote with great Exactneſs in the Times of *Homer*, and the Meaſure was then adjuſted to a greater Strictneſs, than obtained when this Book of *Job* was compoſed: For St. *Jerom* very juſtly remarks, that the Verſes in the Book of *Job* do not always conſiſt of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, but that other Feet frequently occur inſtead of them; and that we often meet in them a Word of four ſhort Syllables (*f*), inſtead of a *Dactyl* or *Spondee*, and that the Meaſure of the Verſes frequently differs in the number of the Syllables of the ſeveral Feet; but allowing two ſhort Syllables to be equal to one long one, the Sums of the Meaſure of the Verſes are always the ſame. This Incorrectneſs of Meaſure evidently hints this Poem to be much more ancient than *Homer*; for before his Times this Liberty was laid aſide. The mixture of the ſhort Verſe agrees very well to *Horace*'s Obſervation,

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(*f*) Propter Linguæ Idioma crebro recipiunt alios pedes, non earundem Syllabarum, ſed eorundem Temporum. *Hieron. Præfat. in Lib. Job.* Ego inveni — eſſe in Job hexametros Verſus ex Spondæo Dactylo & aliis Pedibus, ut Trochæo, Iambo, & Proceleuſmatico currentes: non enim Syllabarum, ſed Temporum in iis habetur Ratio, ut, ſcilicet, duæ breves pro unâ Syllabâ longâ ponantur; nam & Proceleuſmaticum, hoc eſt, quatuor breves pro Dactylo, qui ex unâ longâ & duabus brevibus conſtat, poni omnes ſciunt. quod eadem Ratione in Spondæo etiam fit apud Job. *Marian. Victor. Not. in Præfat. Hieron. in Lib. Job.*

Verſibus

Verſibus impariter junctis Querimonia primùm (g),

Melancholy Accidents, and unfortunate Calamities, were at firſt the peculiar Subjects treated of in this ſort of Verſe; but as we know not who was the Inventor of *Elegiac* Verſe (*h*), ſo we cannot gueſs from hence at what time to fix the compoſing this *Elegiac* Poem.

It will perhaps be ſaid, that we are ſo uncertain about the true Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and that the ſame *Hebrew* Word may be ſo differently written in our modern Letters, according to the Fancy of the Writer, that it is pretty eaſy to make an *Hebrew* Sentence fall into any Meaſure, and bear the Reſemblance of any ſort of Verſe, which we may have a mind to call it: But to this I anſwer, any one that makes the Experiment, will not find this to be true: Let any one try to reduce the Words of the Song of *Moſes* (*i*) to this Meaſure of the Verſe in *Job*, or let him try to reduce the Song of *Deborah* and *Barak* (*k*), and any Part of *Job*, to one and the ſame Meaſure, and he will preſently ſee an irreconcileable Difference in the Structure of

(g) Horat. Lib. de Arte Poeticâ.

(*h*) Quis tamen exiguos Elegos emiſerit Auctor
Grammatici certant, & adhuc ſub Judice Lis eſt *Id. Ibid.*

(*i*) Exodus xv. (*k*) Judges v.

the Words and Syllables, ſufficient to convince him, that any *Hebrew* Sentence cannot be made appear to be any Verſe, according to the Fancy of the Reader. Upon the whole, in the Book of *Job*, the Words do ſo naturally fall into the Meaſure I have hinted, and the ſhort Verſe does ſo commonly end a Period in Senſe; that, tho' I cannot deny, but that any other Perſon, who might take a Fancy to write over any number of the Verſes in *Job* in our Letters, might probably ſpell the Words differently, nay and perhaps ſometimes meaſure the particular Feet of ſome Verſes differently from me; yet ſtill I am apt to think that no one could bring the whole, or a conſiderable part of the Book, to bear ſo remarkable an Appearance of this Meaſure, as it evidently may be made to exhibit, if it really was not a Poem of this Sort; eſpecially when other Parts of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, which are not of this Compoſure, can by no way of Writing be reduced to ſeem to have ſuch a Reſemblance. But however, I can by no means pretend to any thing more than Conjecture upon ſo nice a Subject. St. *Jerom* has given an Hint; I have endeavoured to examine how far it may be true. I acknowledge, that many Writers have been of Opinion, that the Book of *Job* is not compoſed in this ſort of Meaſure, and I muſt intirely ſubmit their Opinion, St. *Jerom*'s,

rom's, and what I have ventured to offer, to the Judgment of the Reader.

Moſes is by St. *Stephen* ſaid to have been *learned in all the Learning of the* Egyptians (*l*). The ſacred Writings bear abundant Teſtimony to the *Egyptian* Learning, both in theſe and in ſucceeding Ages. As St. *Stephen* thought it remarkable in *Moſes*'s Times; ſo we find it was as famous in the Days of *Solomon*, of whom it was ſaid, that his *Wiſdom excelled the Wiſdom of all the Children of the Eaſt-Country, and all the Wiſdom of Egypt* (*m*.) Agreeably to which Sentiment of the *Eaſtern* and *Egyptian* Learning, all the ancient prophane Writers ſuppoſe theſe Countries to have been the Seats of Learning in the early Ages. It may not be improper to inquire what the *Egyptian* Learning in the Days of *Moſes* might be. Sir *John Marſham* puts the Queſtion thus; What was this Learning of the *Egyptians*, when the ſecond *Mercury* had not deciphered the Remains of *Thyoth* (*n*)? By this Query, this learned Gentleman ſeems to have been of Opinion, that the *Egyptian* Learning was but in a low State in theſe Days; and it may be thought very reaſonable to imagine, that when the *Paſtor-Kings* broke in upon *Egypt*, and having en-

(*l*) Acts vii. 22. (*m*) 1 Kings iv. 30. (*n*) Marſham Can. Chron. p. 137.

ſlaved the Country, forced the Prieſts to fly into other Nations, as has been ſaid, ſuch a Revolution might probably put a ſtop to the Progreſs of their Arts and Learning; but it is not likely, that it ſhould altogether ſuppreſs and extirpate them. The Tillage of the Ground made the Study of *Aſtronomy* abſolutely neceſſary, in order for their knowing from the Lights of Heaven, the Times and Seaſons for the ſeveral Parts of *Agriculture*; and the Nature of their Country, overflowed yearly by the *Nile*, made it of continual uſe to them to ſtudy Land-meaſuring, and *Geometry (o)*. And tho' ſeveral of the Prieſts might fly from the *Paſtors*, upon their invading the Land, yet doubtleſs they muſt encourage a great many to ſtay amongſt them for the Publick Good, and to cultivate and carry on the *Egyptian* Studies, which foreign Nations had ſo high an Opinion of, and moſt probably were not intirely Strangers to. It is not indeed to be ſuppoſed, that the *Egyptians* had thus early carried the Study of *Aſtronomy* or *Geometry* to a great Height: They had obſerved, as well as they could, the Times of the Riſing and

(o) Γεωμετείαν ϑ' ἡ Ἀριθμητικὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκπονῆσαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποικίλως μεταχηματίζων τὴν χώραν πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ἀμφισβητήσεις ποιεῖ περὶ τῶν ὁρων τοῖς γειτνιῶσι——. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 51.

Setting

Setting of ſome particular Stars, and they had acquired ſuch a Knowledge of *Geometry*, as gave them the Reputation of being very learned, in Compariſon of other Nations who had not proceeded ſo far as the *Egyptians* in theſe Studies: But if we conſider that the *Egyptians* did not as yet apprehend the Year to conſiſt of more than 360 Days, and that *Thales* was the firſt who attempted to foretel an Eclipſe (*p*), and that both *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, many Ages after theſe Times, were thought to have made vaſt Improvements in *Geometry*, beyond all that they had learn'd in *Egypt*; the one by his Invention of the forty ſeventh Propoſition of the firſt Book of *Euclid*, the other by his finding out how to inſcribe a rectangled Triangle within a Circle (*q*); we muſt think, that neither *Aſtronomy* nor *Geometry* were as yet carried to any great Perfection. The Diſtinction which *Plato* made between Ἀστρονόμος and Ἀστρονομῶντας (*r*), may not be improper to be had in Mind, when we treat of theſe early Aſtronomers or Geometricians. They compiled Regiſters of the Appearances of the Stars and Lights of Heaven, took Accounts of the Weather and Seaſons that followed their ſeveral Obſervations, recorded the

(*p*) Laert. in vit. Thalet. Cic. de divin. l. 1. Plin. l. 2. c. 12.
(*q*) Laert. ubi ſup. (*r*) Plat. in Epinom de.

beſt Times of ſowing or reaping this or that Grain; and by the experimental Learning and Obſervation of many Years, became able *Prognoſticators* of the Weather, of the Seaſons, and good Directors for the Tillage of the Ground (*s*); and in *Geometry*, they found out Methods of marking out and deſcribing the ſeveral Parts of their Country, and probably were exceeding careful in making Draughts of the Flow and Ebb of the River *Nile* every Year; for they formed many Theories and Speculations from their Obſervations made upon it (*t*). We may ſay of their Skill in theſe Sciences, what *Plutarch* ſaid of *Numa*'s Aſtronomy (*u*): It was not ſuch as would have been extolled in Ages of greater Learning, but it was conſiderable for the Times which they lived in. One Part of the *Egyptian* Learning undoubtedly conſiſted in *Phyſiology*, or in the Study of the Traditions, which their Learned Men had amaſſed together, about the Creation of the World. Of theſe I ſhould imagine the *Egyptians* had a very rich Store (*w*); and the commenting upon theſe, and forming Notions of the na-

(*s*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 51. (*t*) *See* Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. (*u*) Ἥψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πραγματείας, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Plut. in Numâ p. 71. (*w*) *See* Diod. Sic. l. 1. *Pref. to Vol.* 1.

tural

tural Powers of the ſeveral Parts of the Univerſe, according to their *Maxims*, and way of thinking, was undoubtedly one great Part of that Philoſophy, in which their Men of Learning exerciſed themſelves (*x*). Before *Moſes*'s Time, the *Egyptian* Aſtronomy had led them into Idolatry: *Syphis*, of whom I have formerly treated, had taught them to worſhip the Luminaries of Heaven; and from his Times, a great Part of the *Egyptian* Learning conſiſted in finding out the Influence, which theſe Bodies had upon the World. They turned their Learning this way, and formed and faſhioned their Religion according to it. *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Egyptians* firſt found out what Deity preſided over each Day of the Week, and every Month of the Year (*y*). *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays, that they introduced the Uſe of Aſtrology (*z*): *Dion Caſſius*, that they ſuppoſed the ſeven Planets to govern the Seven Days of the Week (*a*); and *Cicero*, that by the Obſervation of the Motion of the Stars, thro' a Series of a prodigious Number of Years, they had got the Art of foretelling things to come, and knowing what Fate any

(*x*) Strabo l. 17. (*y*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 82.
(*z*) Stromat. l. 1. p. 306. (*a*) Dion Caſſius Lib. 36. p. 37.

Perſon was born to (*b*). *Philaſtrius Brixienſis* ſuppoſes this particular Science to be the Invention of the *Egyptians*, and intimates it to have been begun very early, by his ſuppoſing *Hermes* to be the Author of it (*c*); for the Invention of all Arts and Sciences, which were reputed truly ancient, were aſcribed to *Hermes* (*d*). *Necepſos*, who, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in *Egypt* about the Time that *Tullus Hoſtilius* governed *Rome*, was a great Improver of the ancient *Egyptian* Magic (*e*); but it is evident, that the Study and Practice of it began before *Moſes*'s Time, both in *Egypt*, and in the neighbouring Nations. The Caution which *Moſes* gave the *Iſraelites* (*f*), ſhews evidently, that the Idolatrous Nations then had their Profeſſors of theſe Arts, known by various Denominations. They had *Diviners*, *Obſervers of Times*, *Enchanters*, *Witches*, *Charmers*, *Conſulters with Familiar Spirits*, *Wizards*, *Necromancers* (*g*); and *Balaam* was skilful in Inchantments, and may probably be ſuppoſed to have built ſeven Altars according to the *Egyptian* Syſtem, which ſuppoſed the ſeven Planets to preſide over the ſeven Days of the Week (*h*). Seven

(*b*) Cic. de Divinat. l. 1. c. 1. (*c*) Hæreſ. n. iii. See Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 448. (*d*) Jamblichus de Myſter. Ægypt. (*e*) Auſonius Ep. 19. (*f*) Deut. xviii. 10, 11 (*g*) Ibid. (*h*) Numbers xxiii.

Bullocks

Bullocks and ſeven Rams might be a proper Offering in his Days to be made to the true God (*i*); but the dividing it upon ſeven Altars, implies an Offering to more Divinities than one, and ſeems to have been one of the Practices, by which he went to ſeek for Inchantments (*k*). We may come up higher, and find earlier mention of theſe Artificers. *Pharaoh* had his *Wiſe-men, Sorcerers* and *Magicians of* Egypt, who pretended to work Wonders with their Inchantments (*l*); and Divination was reputed an Art, and a Cup uſed in the Exerciſe of it in the Days of *Joſeph* (*m*); and in his Time, the Kings of *Egypt* had their Magicians to interpret Dreams (*n*). All theſe were Arts, that in theſe Days were ſtudied with great Application in the Idolatrous Nations; and without doubt a great Part of the Learning of the *Egyptians* conſiſted in the Study of them: And I cannot ſee why we may not ſuppoſe, that *Moſes*, as he had an *Egyptian* Education, was according to their courſe of Diſcipline inſtructed in them. *Philo* indeed obſerves of him, that in all his Studies, he kept his Mind free from every falſe Byaſs, and ſincerely endeavoured to find out the Truth in all his In-

(*i*) Job xliii. 8. (*k*) Numb. xxiv. 1. (*l*) Exod. vii. viii. (*m*) Gen. xliv. 5. (*n*) xli. 8.

quiries

quiries (*o*). A happy Diſpoſition this, which the moſt Learned are often very great Strangers to: For it is not Abundance of Litterature which gives this Temper; but it rather ariſes from a virtuous and undeſigning Heart.

Many Writers have imagined the *Magic* of the Heathen World, their Oracles, Interpretations of Dreams, Prodigies, Omens and Divinations, to have been cauſed by a Communication of their Prophets, Prieſts, and Diviners with evil Spirts. They ſuppoſe, that as God was pleaſed to inſpire his true Prophets; to give Signs, and work Wonders, for his Servants; to warn them by Dreams, or to reveal to them his Will: So the Devil, and his Angels, affected to imitate theſe particular Favours, vouchſafed to good and virtuous Men, and gave Oracles, Omens, Signs, Dreams and Viſions, to delude their Superſtitious Votaries. When the Heathens came to worſhip Heroe-Gods, and to ſuppoſe the World to be governed by *Genii*, or Spirits of an higher Nature than Men, but inferior to the Deity; then indeed they aſcribed Oracles, Omens, Signs, Dreams, and Viſions to the Miniſtry of ſuch Spirits,

(*o*) Ἀφιλονείκως τὰς ἕξεις ὑπερβὰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιζήτει, μηδὲν ψεῦδος ἀπὸ διανοίας αὐτῷ παραδέχεσθαι δυναμένης, ὡς ἔνιοι τοῖς ἀιρισιομάχοις. Philo Jud. Lib. 1. de Vitâ Moſis.

intruſted

intruſted with the Government of this lower World. This Opinion is well expreſſed by one of *Plutarch*'s Diſputants (*p*), and it was eſteemed to be true by *Plato* and his Followers (*q*); and many of the Fathers of the Chriſtian Church aſcribed the Divination of the Heathens to the Aſſiſtance of their *Dæmons*; but we have no Reaſon to think any Opinion of this ſort to have obtained in the firſt Ages of Idolatry, or to have appeared ſo early as the Times of *Moſes*. We meet with no Names of any Heathen Diviners, mentioned in the ſacred Writings in theſe early Days, which imply any Converſe with ſuch Spirits. There are indeed two which may ſeem to imply it; but if we rightly tranſlate the original Words for them, we ſhall ſee that they have no ſuch Meaning: We mention *Conſulters with Familiar Spirits*, and *Necromancers*, amongſt the Heathen Diviners, againſt whom *Moſes* cautioned the *Iſraelites* (*r*). Our *Engliſh* Expreſſion, *Conſulter with Familiar Spirits*, ſeems to ſignify one that divined by the help of ſuch Spirit; but the *Hebrew* Words [שאל אוב] *Shoel Aobv* are two Perſons, *Shoel*

(*p*) Τὸ μὲν ἐρεσθαι τοῖς χρησμοῖς μὴ θεὸς, οἷς ἀπηλάχθαι δεῖ πρὸ πολλοῦ γε σοφῶν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑφέντας θεῶν, ἃ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦν. Plut. de Orac. Defectu. p. 418. (*q*) Plato in Sympoſ. in Epinomide; in Timæo; in Phædro; in Ione, &c. (*r*) Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

is

is the Conſulter, *Aobv* is the Diviner. Our *Engliſh* Tranſlators have generally miſſed the true Senſe of this Expreſſion. We tranſlate, *A Man or a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard, ſhall ſurely be put to Death (s)*; by this Tranſlation *a Man or Woman that had a familiar Spirit*, ſeems to be one ſort of Diviner, as a *Wizard* is another; but the true Tranſlation of the *Hebrew* Words is as follows. *A Man or a Woman, if there ſhall have been with them* [*i. e.* if they ſhall have conſulted] *an Aobv or an Iiddnoni* [*i. e.* a *Python* or a *Wizard*] *ſhall be put to Death:* here the *Aobv* is the Diviner, and does not ſignify *a familiar Spirit in a Perſon*, poſſeſſing him, as our *Engliſh* Tranſlation ſeems to intimate: And that the Word *Aobv* is to be taken in this Senſe, is abundantly evident from another Paſſage in this Book of *Leviticus*; the Words are, (*t*) *Al tiphnu el ha Aobvoth, veel ha Iiddnonim: al tebakkeſhu letameah bahem.* i. e. *Ye ſhall not have regard to the Pythons, or to the Wizards: Ye ſhall not make Enquiries to the polluting of your ſelves by them.* Here it is very plain, that *Aobv* does not ſignify *a Spirit in a Perſon*, but is one ſort of Diviner, of whom

(*s*) Leviticus xx. 27.

(*t*) אל תפנו אל-האבת ואל-הידענים אל תבקשו לטמאה בהם Levit. xix. 31.

the

the *Iſraelites* were not to enquire; as *Iddoni*, the Word tranſlated *Wizard*, is another (*u*); and whoever compares our *Engliſh* Verſion of this Verſe with the *Hebrew* Words, muſt ſee that our Tranſlators wandred from the ſtrict Senſe of the original Text, to expreſs their Notion of *familiar Spirits*. I have tranſlated the *Hebrew* Word *Aobv*, *Python*; if it was a Woman-diviner, it ſhould be *Pythoniſſa*; the *Greek* Word is ἐγγαστρίμυθος (*w*), and that the Diviners of this ſort were anciently thought to anſwer thoſe that conſulted them, without the Aſſiſtance of any *Dæmon*, or familiar Spirit, is evident from *Plutarch* (*x*). Our *Engliſh* Tranſlators render *Doreſh el ha methim* (*y*) *Necromancers*, the *Vulgar Latin* tranſlates it *Quærens a mortuis*, the LXX ἐπερωτῶν τὸς νεκρὸς. I muſt acknowledge, that all the Tranſlations, and the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, take the Words in the ſame Senſe, and interpret them to ſignify Conſulters of departed Spirits; and by the *Marginal* Reference in our *Engliſh*

(*u*) *The Vulgar* Latin, *the* LXX, *the* Targum *of* Onkelos, *the* Samaritan, Syriac, *and* Arabic *Verſions, render the Paſſage as I have, and the* Hebrew *Words cannot fairly bear a different Tranſlation.* (*w*) Verſ. LXX. (*x*) Εὐηθὲς γὰρ ὃν καὶ παιδικὸν νομίσαι τὸ ὀιεσθαι τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ τὸς ἐγγαστριμύθους, ἀνρυκλείτας πάλαι νυνὶ πύθωνας παρεισαγομένους, ἐνδυόμενον εἰς τὰ σώματα παρόντων ὑποφθέγγεσθαι, &c. Plut. de Defectu Orac. p. 414. Vid. Cic. de Divin. l. 1. c. 19. (*y*) Deut. xviii. 11.

Bibles,

Bibles, we are directed at this Word to 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 7. as if the Woman at *Endor*, to whom *Saul* went to raiſe *Samuel*, were a *Doreſh el hamethim*, tho' ſhe is there ſaid to be a *Pythoniſſa*; and the *Python*, or *Pythoniſſa*, is here in *Deuteronomy* mentioned as a Diviner of a different ſort from the *Doreſh el hamethim*; or, as we render it, *Necromancer*. The ſeveral Tranſlations, which we have of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, as well as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, were all made much later than the time of deifying the Souls of *Heroes*; and very probably, the prevailing Opinion amongſt the Heathens, at the Time of making theſe Tranſlations being, that ſuch departed Spirits were in this manner propitious unto Men, this might occaſion the Tranſlators to think, that the Words might be rendered as they have tranſlated them; but it ſhould have been conſidered, that the Notion of Heroe-Gods aroſe later than the Times of *Moſes*, and the Words *Doreſh el hamethim* may rather ſignify *one that enquires of the dead* Idols, which the Heathens had ſet up in the Nations round about the *Iſraelites*, in Oppoſition to thoſe, who ſought only to the living God. As in After-Ages, the Heathens believed the World to be governed by *Genii*, Heroe-Spirits, or *Dæmons*, by the Appointment of the Deity; ſo in theſe earlier, and firſt Ages of Idolatry, they worſhipped

worſhipped only the Lights of Heaven, and the Elements; allowing indeed a ſupreme Deity, but thinking theſe all to have Intelligence, and to be appointed by him to govern the World (*a*). And as when the Opinion of *Dæmons*, and Heroe-Spirits prevailed, all Prophecy, Dreams, Prodigies, and Divinations of all ſorts were referred to them; ſo in theſe earlier Times, before Men had proceeded to ſet up Heroe-Deities, and to worſhip *Dæmons*; when the Lights of Heaven, and Elements, were the Objects of their Worſhip, it was thought reaſonable to imagine, that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by their natural Influence upon the Air, Earth and Water, did frequently cauſe Vapours and Influences, which might affect the Minds of Perſons, who by due Art and Preparation were fit for Divination, ſo as to enable them to foretel Things to come, to deliver Oracles (*b*); nay, and they thought a proper Diſcipline might make them capable of working Wonders, or procuring

(*a*) Mundum ——— habere Mentem, quæ ſe & ipſum fabricatum ſit, & omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit perſuaſum etiam Solem, Lunam, Stellas omnes, Terram, Mare, Deos eſſe, quod quædam animalis Intelligentia per omnia ea permeet & tranſeat. Cic. *Acad. qu. l.* 4. *c.* 37. Conſentaneum eſt in iis Senſum eſſe & Intelligentiam, ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero illa eſſe ducenda. *Id. de nat. Deorum.* l. 2. c. 15.

(*b*) Plutarch. lib. de Defectu Oraculorum.

Prodigies

Prodigies (*c*); and all theſe things they conceived might be done, without the Deity being at all concerned in them (*d*). They did not indeed deny, that God ſometimes interpoſed; they acknowleged him to be the great Author of all Miracles, Signs, Wonders, Dreams, Propheſies and Viſions, whenever he thought fit; but they believed alſo, that they might and would be effected without his Interpoſition (*e*); either from *Fate*, meaning hereby the natural Courſe of Things, which God had appointed to proceed in the Univerſe (*f*); that is, they thought that God had ſo framed the ſeveral Parts of the *mundane* Syſtem, that from the Revolution of the heavenly Bodies, and the Temperament and Situation of the Earth, Air and Water, or in general, from the Diſpoſition of the ſeveral Parts of the Univerſe to, and Influence upon one another, Prodigies, Omens, Signs, Dreams, Viſions and Oracles, would conſtantly at the proper Places and Se-

(*c*) Cumque magna vis videretur in Monſtris procurandis Haruſpicum Diſciplinâ. *Cic. de Divinat.* l. 1. c. 2. (*d*) Nat ſignificari futura ſine Deo poſſunt. Id. ibid. c. 6. (*e*) mùm, ut mihi videtur, a Deo, deinde a Fato, deinde a Naturâ omnis divinandi, ratioque repetenda eſt. Id. ibid. c. 55.

(*f*) Fatum eſt non id quod ſuperſtitioſè, ſed quod Phyſicè tur cauſa æterna Rerum. Id. ibid. Deum — interdum neceſ tem appellant, quia nihil aliter poſſit, atque ab eo conſtitutum Id. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. c. 44. Τί κωλύσει τῆς τῶ Διὸς ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ χ) προνοίας ὑπηκόους πάντας εἶναι. Plutarch. l. Defect. Orac. p. 426.

fo

ſons be given, as neceſſarily as the heavenly Bodies performed their Revolutions; and that Men might, by long Obſervation and Experience, form Rules for the rightly interpreting and underſtanding of what the Deity had thus appointed to be diſcovered to them (*g*); or they ſaid, that theſe things might be effected in a natural Way, *i. e.* by the Uſe of natural Means proper to produce them. We are told by one of *Plutarch*'s Diſputants, that the Earth emits Vapours and powerful *Effluvia* of ſeveral ſorts, and ſome of ſuch a Nature as to cauſe Men to divine, if they be in a proper Temper of Mind to be affected by them (*h*); and the *Pythia* at *Delphos* is ſuppoſed, in *Cicero* (*i*), to have been inſpired from ſuch an Influence of the Earth affecting her. In

(*g*) Principio Aſſyrii Trajectiones motuſque Stellarum obſervaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique ſignificaretur memoriæ prodiderunt —— Chaldæi —— diuturnâ obſervatione ſiderum ſcientiam putantur effeciſſe, ut prædici poſſet quid cuique eventurum, quo quiſque fato natus eſſet. Eandem Artem etiam Ægyptii longinquitate Temporum innumerabilibus pænè ſeculis conſecuti dicuntur. *Cic. de Divin. l.* 1. *c.* 1. Atque hæc, ut ego arbitror, tum magis eventis moniti quàm ratione docti probaverunt. Ibid. Obſervata ſunt hæc tempore immenſo, & in ſignificatione rerûs animadverſa & notata; nihil eſt autem, quod non longinquus Temporum excipiente memoriâ prodendiſque Monumentis comprehendere atque aſſequi poſſit. Ibid. c. 7. Affert autem Vetuſtas omnis in Rebus longinquâ obſervatione incredibilem Scientiam: quæ poteſt eſſe etiam ſine motu atque impulſu Deorum, cum quid cuique eveniat, & quid quamque Rem ſignificet crebrâ Animadverſione perſpectum ſit. Ibid. c. 49.

(*h*) Plutarch. de def. Oracul. p. 432. (*i*) De Divinat. c. 19.

Plutarch it is remarked, that ſometimes the natural Temper of the Air did cauſe in the Prophet, the proper Diſpoſition to receive the *Vaticinal* Influence; at other Times, that the *Vates* did diſpoſe themſelves for it, by Drinks and Inebriations (*k*). When the *Vaticinal* Influence operated upon the Mind, by the Conveyance of the Air, without any artificial Aſſiſtance, then they ſaid the Vaticination proceeded from Fate, becauſe it proceeded from the natural Courſe of Things, or Order of Nature, which God had appointed to go on in the Univerſe; but if a Drink, or any other artificial Means, were uſed, then they ſaid the Vaticination came *a Naturâ*, or from the Uſe of Means, which were thought to have a natural Power to produce it. Theſe were the Notions, which Learning and *Science falſely ſo called* introduced into the Heathen World. Their Kings and learned Men did indeed know God, but they did not retain him ſo ſtrictly in their Knowledge as they ought to have done, but ſet up other Deities beſides, and inſtead of him. They thought that the Sun, Moon, Stars and Elements were appointed to govern the World (*l*) and tho' they acknowledged that God might (*m*), upon extraordinary Occaſions work Miracles, reveal his Will by audibl

(*k*) Plutarch. ubi ſup. (*l*) Cic. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. c. 3
(*m*) Id. de Divinat. l. 1. c. 55.

Voices

Voices, divine Appearances, Dreams or Propheſies; yet they thought alſo, that, generally ſpeaking, Oracles were given, Prodigies cauſed, Dreams of Things to come occaſioned, in a natural Way, by the Influence or Obſervation of the Courſes of the heavenly Bodies, and by the Operations of the Powers of Nature. And they conceived that their learned Profeſſors, by a deep Study of, and profound Inquiry into natural Knowledge, could make themſelves able to work Wonders, obtain Oracles and Omens, and interpret Dreams; and in all theſe Particulars they thought the Deity not concerned, but that they were mere natural Effects of the Influence of the Elements and Planets, ſeeming ſtrange and unaccountable to the Vulgar and Unlearned, but fully underſtood by Perſons of Science and Philoſophy.

That this was *Pharaoh*'s Senſe of Things, when *Moſes* wrought his Wonders in *Egypt*, is remarkably evident from the Uſe he made of his Magicians upon the Occaſion: When *Moſes* and *Aaron* came to him to require him in the Name of their God to let the *Iſraelites* go, he asked them to ſhew a Miracle, that he might know that they were really ſent upon a divine Miſſion (*n*): Here he acknowledged, according to what I remarked from *Tully*,

(*n*) Exodus vii. 9, 10.

that God by an extraordinary Interpoſition could work Miracles (*o*); but when *Aaron*'s Rod was turned into a Serpent, he ſent for his *Sorcerers* and *Magicians*, to ſee if they could with their Inchantments cauſe ſuch a Tranſmutation, and upon finding that they could, he thought it no real Miracle (*p*), and refus'd to let the People go: In the ſame manner the Magicians brought up Frogs, and from hence *Pharaoh* concluded that the Plague of Frogs did not ariſe from any extraordinary divine Interpoſition. The ſame Obſervation may be made upon the River's being turned into Blood; but when the *Magicians* tried and could not produce Lice, then they concluded that *This was the Finger of God* (*q*). Thus the Trial of the *Magicians* Skill was to bring *Moſes*'s Wonders to the Teſt, in order to diſcover whether they were effected by human Art, or by the divine Aſſtance, and ſhews evidently, that the prevailing Opinion amongſt the Learned at this Time was, that Wonders, Prodigies, Divinations, *&c.* might be procured, as I have remarked, *ſine Deo* (*r*), without the Deity's being concerned in cauſing them, and that, either *a Fato*, or *a Naturâ* (*ſ*); by the Uſe

(*o*) Primùm a Deo vis omnis & divinandi repetenda eſt Ratio. *Cic.* ubi ſup. (*p*) *See* Philo Jud. de vitâ Moſis, l. 1. *We may apply here what is ſaid of* Pharaoh *upon the Rivers being turned into Blood, when he ſaw the Magicians do ſo with their Inchantments,* he did not ſet his Heart to *this Miracle*, i. e. *he did not regard it.* Exodus vii. 23. (*q*) viii. 19. (*r*) Cic. ubi ſup. (*ſ*) Cic. ubi ſup.

Of

of natural Means or *Inchantments* to cauſe them, which Artifices *Pharaoh*'s (*t*) Magicians uſed to this Purpoſe; or from the Planetary or Elementary Powers at ſet Times and critical Junctures of their Influence: And I might, I think, add, that when *Pharaoh* was convinced that *Moſes*'s Miracles were not wrought by any Magical Arts or Incantations, he ſtill heſitated, whether they might not happen from ſome Influence of the Planets or Elements, which *Moſes*, as a Maſter of their Learning, might well know the Times of, and thereby be able to denounce what would come in its Place and Seaſon; and in order to take away all Poſſibility of ſuch Suſpicion, *Moſes* ſeveral Times gave *Pharaoh* Liberty to chooſe what Time he would have the Plagues removed when he deſired it (*u*), that he might know that God alone was the Author of them, and that they were brought, and by his Power might be removed in any Hour, and at any Seaſon, without regard to the Stars or Elements, their Temper, Influence or Situation. Theſe, I think, were the Arts in which the learned Men of *Egypt* chiefly exerciſed them-

(*t*) *I ſhould imagine, that the Divination by drinking out of a Cup, hinted at* Gen. xliv. 5. *was of the ſame Sort with the ſuppoſed natural Way of divining by drinking, which is ſuggeſted in* Plutarch, Lib. de Defect. Orac. ubi ſup. (*u*) Exodus viii. 9, 10. ix. 5, 18.

ſelves; and undoubtedly *Moſes* had a full Inſtruction in all Parts of their Learning, tho' as *Philo* remarks of him, he preſerved himſelf from being impoſed upon by their Errors and Idolatry; He made himſelf a compleat Maſter of every Thing excellent in their Diſcipline, and rejected what would have corrupted his Religion, under a falſe Shew of improving his Underſtanding.

There are other Sciences generally eſteemed to have been Parts of the *Egyptian* Learning: One of their moſt early Kings is ſuppos'd to have been very famous for his Skill in *Phyſick*, and to have left conſiderable Memoirs of his Art for the Inſtruction of future Ages, and his Remains upon this Subject were carefully preſerved along with their moſt valuable Monuments, and were with the greateſt Diligence ſtudied by Poſterity (*w*): We read of the *Egyptian* Phyſicians in the Days of *Joſeph* (*x*), and *Diodorus* repreſents them as an Order of Men not only very antient in *Egypt*, but as having a full Employment in continually giving Phyſick to the People, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into Diſtempers (*y*): *Herodotus* ſays

(*w*) *See* Vol. I. B. 4. Syncell. p. 54. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 634. (*x*) Gen. l. 2. (*y*) Τὰς νόσους περιστατικὰς λαμβανόμενοι διεφθάρθαι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ ποτισμοῖς τισὶ καθαρσίοις καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Diodor. l. 1. p. 52.

much

much the ſame Thing, and repreſents the antient *Egyptians* as living under a continual Courſe of Phyſick, undergoing ſo rough a *Regimen* for three Days together every Month (*z*), that I cannot but ſuſpect ſome Miſtake both in his and *Diodorus*'s Account of them, in this Particular: *Herodotus* allows them to have lived in a favourable Climate, and to have been an healthy People (*a*), which ſeems hardly conſiſtent with ſo much medicinal Diſcipline as he imagined them to go thro' almoſt without Interruption. The firſt mention we have of Phyſicians in the ſacred Pages, ſhews indeed that there was ſuch a Profeſſion in *Egypt* in *Joſeph*'s Time, and *Jacob* was their Patient (*b*); but their Employment was to embalm him after he was dead; we do not read, that any Care was taken to give him Phyſick whilſt alive; which inclines me to ſuſpect, that the *Egyptians* had no Practice for the Cure of the Diſeaſes of a Sick-Bed, in theſe Days. We read of no ſick Perſons in the early Ages: The Diſeaſes of *Egypt*, which the *Iſraelites* had been afraid of (*c*), (if by theſe *Moſes* meant any other Diſeaſes, than the Boils inflicted upon *Pharaoh* and his (*d*) People) were ſuch

(*z*) Συμμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐσεξῆς μιῶς ἑκάστου, ἐμέτοισι καὶ ἐνεμάμοισι τῶν ὑγιείων. Herodot. l. 2. c. 77. (*a*) Id. ibid. (*b*) Gen. l. 2. (*c*) Deut. xxviii. 60. (*d*) Exod. ix.

as they had no Cure for (*e*), and any other Sickneſſes were then ſo little known, that they had no Names (*f*) for them. Men lived temperately in the early Times, their Conſtitutions were ſtrong and good, and they were rarely ſick until Nature was worn out; and Age and Mortality could have no Cure: An early Death was ſo unuſual, that it was generally remarked to be a Puniſhment for ſome extraordinary Wickedneſs (*g*), and Diſeaſes were thought not to come in the ordinary Courſe of Nature, but to be inflicted by the Deity for the Correction of ſome particular Crimes. It is remarkable, that the antient Books of the *Egyptian* Phyſick were eſteemed a Part of their ſacred Records, and were always carried about in (*h*) their Proceſſions by the *Paſtophori*, who were an Order of their Prieſts (*i*); and the *Egyptians* ſtudied Phyſick not as an Art by itſelf, but their *Aſtronomy*, *Phyſick* and *Myſteries*, were put all together, as making up but one Science, being ſeparately only Parts of their *Theology* (*k*); for which Reaſons I ſhould imagine, that their antient Preſcriptions, which *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* ſuppoſe

(*e*) Deut. xxviii. 27. (*f*) ver. 61. (*g*) Gen. xxxviii. 8, 10. (*h*) Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l. 6. c. 4. (*i*) Chæremon. apud Porphyr. l. 4. de Abſtinen. §. 8. (*k*) Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέσκαπτον· Scholiaſt. in Ptol. Tetrabib. vid. Marſham. Can. Chron. p. 41.

them

them ſo punctual in obſerving, were not medicinal, but religious Purifications. The Diſtinction of clean and unclean Beaſts was before the Flood (*l*), and when Men had leave to eat Fleſh, they moſt probably obſerved that Diſtinction in their Diet, eating the Fleſh of no other living Creatures, than what they offered in Sacrifice, which were the clean Beaſts and clean Fowls only (*m*); and when the Heathen Nations turned aſide to Idolatry, as they altered and corrupted the antient Rites of Sacrificing and Sacrifices, and invented many new ones; ſo they innovated in their Diet with it: Many new Rites and Sacrifices being introduced into their Religions, new Abſtinencies, and Purifications, new Meats and Drinks came along with them, and it was the Phyſician's Buſineſs (he being the religious Miniſter preſiding in theſe Points) to preſcibre upon every Occaſion, according to the Rules contained in their ſacred Books (*n*). The *Egyptians* were very exact in theſe Points: *Herodotus* informs us, that they eat no Fiſh (*o*); but, if we take either the Reaſons hinted from *Julian* by Sir *John Marſham* (*p*), or the general one aſſigned by *Plutarch* (*q*), their refuſing this Diet, was not upon Account

(*l*) Vol. I. B. 2. (*m*) B. 5. (*n*) Κατὰ νόμον ἱερατικὸν Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (*o*) Lib. 2. c. 37. (*p*) Marſh. Can. Chron. p. 212. (*q*) Plutarch. Sympoſ. l. 7. p. 730. *his Words are,* Ἀγνείας μέρος ἀποχὴ ἰχθύων.

of

of Health, but of Religion. In like manner they eat no Beans, for they thought them a Pollution (*r*): And their Rites in Diet were ſo different from the *Hebrew* Cuſtoms, that *the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews*, in the Days of *Joſeph*, for *that was an Abomination to them* (*ſ*). It would be endleſs to recount the many Figments which theſe Men brought into Religion: The *Aſtronomers* formed Abundance, as I have hinted already, from the Advances made in their Science; and it is eaſy to conceive, that in ſtudying the Nature of the living Creatures, Fruits and Plants in the World, they might invent as great a Variety of Abſtinencies and Religious Diets and Purifications from this Branch of Knowledge, as they did Deities from the other, and fill their ſacred *Pharmaceutic* Books, not with *Recipes* for Sickneſſes and Diſtempers, but with Meats and Drinks, Unguents, Lotions, and Purgations, proper to be uſed in the ſeveral Services of every Deity, and upon all the Occaſions of Religion; and their Monthly Preſcriptions might vary as the Stars took their Courſes, and as different Deities in their Turns called for the Obſervance of different Rituals to obtain their Favours. *Pythagoras* was duly pre-

(*r*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 37. (*ſ*) Gen. xliii. 32.

pared

pared with this ſort of Phyſick, before he could be inſtructed in the *Egyptian* Myſteries; and tho' without doubt he, or the Writers of his Life, refined a little upon the *Egyptian* Doctrines, yet he introduced ſome Share of this *Pharmacy* into his own School, and diſpos'd the Minds of his Scholars for his Inſtructions by many Myſteries in eating, drinking, and faſting (*t*); and he had particular Preparations of Diet upon extraordinary Acts of Worſhip (*u*), and had his *Recipes* to cauſe Divination by both Dreams and Vaticination (*w*); ſo that we may gueſs from him in part, what the *Egyptian* Preſcriptions in theſe Points were. And as the *Egyptian* Phyſicians preſcribed the true ritual Way of Living, ſo another Branch of their Profeſſion was to embalm the Bodies of the Dead: All Nations had their Rites for Funerals, and the Perſons that directed in theſe were commonly either ſome of the Prieſts, or at leaſt Perſons well skilled in Matters of Religion (*x*): The *Egyptian* Rites in this Matter were very numerous, and required many Hands to perform them (*y*). *Moſes* informs us, that the Phyſicians embalmed *Jacob* (*z*): Many

(*t*) Jamblichus de vitâ Pythag. c. 24. Porphyr. de eâd. 42, 43, 44, 45. (*u*) Id. de eâd. c. 34. (*w*) Jamblich. ubi ſup. (*x*) Diodorus l. 2. p. 88. (*y*) Id. l. 1. p. 57. (*z*) Moſes's *Words are, that* Joſeph commanded his Servants the Phyſicians. *It may be very needleſs to remark, that theſe Words cannot imply, that*

Many of them were employed in the Office, and many Days Time was neceſſary for the Performance (*b*), and different Perſons performed different Parts of it, ſome being concerned in the Care of one Part of the Body, and ſome of another (*c*); and I imagine this manner of Practice occaſioned *Herodotus* to hint, that the *Egyptians* had a different Phyſician for every Diſtemper (*d*), or rather, as his ſubſequent Words expreſs, for each different Part of the Body (*e*); for ſo indeed they had, not to cure the Diſeaſes of it, but to embalm it when dead. Theſe I imagine were the Offices of the *Egyptian* Phyſicians in the early Days. They were an Order of the

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that the Servants of great Men were their Phyſicians in theſe Days; for Phyſicians were always highly honoured in all civilized States, either conſidered as an Order of the Miniſters of Religion, as I think they were in theſe Days, or when they were afterwards concerned in the Cure of thoſe who wanted their Aſſiſtance. The Word Servant *in Scripture is often uſed as we uſe it in* Engliſh, *not always in the* literal *Senſe*: *Thus* Naaman *called himſelf the* Servant *of* Eliſha, 2 Kings v. *and many other Inſtances might be produced. Perhaps* Joſeph, *in the high Dignity which he was advanced to, might, tho' in a leſſer Number, have Officers of State,* Elders of his Houſe, *as the King of* Egypt *himſelf had, and Perſons of the firſt Rank might not refuſe to be his Servants in honourable Poſts of this Sort, and he might appoint the embalming his Father to thoſe of his own Houſe only, deſigning it purely to preſerve his Body, in order to carry it into* Canaan, *and not as a religious Ceremony; for which Reaſon he might deſire not to have it publickly embalmed by the whole Body of the* Egyptian *Phyſicians, with all the Rites of their Religion to be uſed in publick Performances of this Nature.* (*b*) Gen. l. 3. (*c*) Diodorus. l. 1. p. 58. (*d*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 84. (*e*) Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰατροὶ κατεστέασι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, &c. Id. ibid.

Mini-

Miniſters of Religion: The Art of curing Diſtempers or Diſeaſes was not yet attempted. When Phyſicians firſt began to practiſe the Arts of Healing, cannot certainly be determined; but this, I think, we may be ſure of, that they practiſed only Surgery until after *David*'s Time, if we conſult the Scripture; and until after *Homer*'s Time, if we conſult the prophane Writers. In Scripture we have mention of many Perſons, that went to proper Places to be cured of their Wounds, in the Books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*; and in like Manner we read in *Homer* of *Machaon* and other Phyſicians; but their whole Art conſiſted in Ἰὸς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ὅτι τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσειν (*f*), *extracting Arrows, healing Wounds, and preparing Anodynes*; and therefore *Pliny* ſays expreſly, that the Art of Phyſick in the *Trojan* Times was only Surgery (*g*): In Caſes of Sickneſs, not the Phyſicians, but the Prieſts, the Prophets, or the *Augurs*, were thought the proper Perſons to be conſulted in theſe Days (*h*); for, as *Diodorus* remarks, it was the antient Cuſtom for ſick Perſons to obtain Health from the Profeſſors of Vaticination (*i*)

(*f*) Iliad. 11. 515. (*g*) Medicina —— Trojanis Temporibus clara —— vulnerum tamen duntaxat Remediis. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 29. c. 1. (*h*) Homer. Iliad. 1. 62. (*i*) Ἰαλειπλῶ ἐπεήμλω, διὰ τ μανλικῆς τέχνης γινομλύλω, δι' ἧς τὸ παλαιὸν σωέβαινε θεραπείας τυγχάνειν τὸν ἀῤῥωςοῦνλας. Diodorus, l. 5. p. 235.

by

by their Art, and not by Phyſick. And this we find was the ancient Practice mentioned in the Scriptures: *Jeroboam* ſent his Wife to the Prophet, when his Son *Ahijah* was ſick (*k*). *Ahaziah*, when ſick, ſent to *Baal-zebub* the God of *Ekron* (*l*). The King of *Syria* ſent to *Eliſha* (*ii*). *Aſa* indeed about *A. M.* 3087 (*kk*) ſought, when ſick, to the Phyſicians, but it was certainly even then a very novel Practice, and ſtands condemned as an Impiety (*ll*). In the Days of *Pythagoras*, the Learned began to form Rules of Diet for the Preſervation of Health (*m*), and to preſcribe in this Point to ſick Perſons, in order to aſſiſt towards their Recovery; and in this, *Strabo* tells us, conſiſted the Practice of the ancient *Indian* Phyſicians; they endeavoured to cure Diſtempers by a Diet-Regimen, but they gave no Phyſick (*n*). *Hippocrates*, who, according to *Dean Prideaux*, lived about the Time of the *Peloponneſian* War (*o*), *i. e.* about *A. M.* 3570 (*p*), raiſed the Art of Phyſick to a greater Height than his Predeceſſors could venture to attempt. He firſt began the Practice of viſiting ſick-bed Patients, and preſcribing Medicines with Succeſs for their Diſtem-

(*k*) 1 Kings xiv. (*l*) 2 Kings i. 2. (*ii*) 2 Kings viii. 8. (*kk*) Uſher's *Annals*. (*ll*) 2 Chron. xvi. 12. (*m*) Jamblicus de vitâ Pythag. c. 34. (*n*) Strabo. Geog. l. 15. p. 713. (*o*) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. p. 569. (*p*) Uſher's *Annals*.

pers

pers (*q*). This, I think, was the Progreſs of Phyſick down to Times much later than where I am to end my Undertaking; and it muſt evidently appear from it, that the *Egyptians* could have no ſuch Phyſicians in the Days of *Moſes*, as *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* ſeem to ſuppoſe: It is much more probable, that Ages after theſe Times, they were like the *Babylonians*, intirely deſtitute of Perſons skilful in curing any Diſeaſes that might happen amongſt them (*r*), and that the beſt Method they could think of, after conſulting their Oracles, was, when any one was ſick, they took Care to have as many Perſons ſee and ſpeak to him as poſſibly could, that if any one who ſaw the ſick Perſon, had had the like Diſtemper, he might ſay what was proper to be done for one in that Condition: And *Strabo* expreſly tells us, that this was the antient Practice of the *Egyptians* (*ſ*).

Muſick is by ſome thought to be another of the *Egyptian* Sciences, and their famous *Mercury* is ſaid to have invented it. *Diodorus* hints, that he made the Lyre of three Strings in Alluſion to the three Seaſons of the Year (*t*), tho' I ſhould think that the Year was hardly as yet ſo well calculated as to be divided into Seaſons (*u*): However, it is probable that the *Egyp-*

(*q*) Plinii Nat. Hiſt. l. 29. c. 1. (*r*) Herodot. l. 1. c. 197.
(*ſ*) Strabo Geog. l. 3. p. 155. (*t*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (*u*) *See* B. vi.

tians

tians had, e're theſe Days, ſome rude Way of ſinging Hymns to their Gods, tho' Muſick was not as yet brought to any remarkable Perfection. Men have naturally a Difference in the Tone and Pitch of their Voices, and this might lead them to think of an Inſtrument of more Strings than one: Perhaps all the Muſick as yet aimed at in ſinging Hymns to the Gods was no more than this, that ſome of the People recited the Words in an high Tone, others in a low, and others in a Tone or Note between both, according to the different Pitch of the ſeveral Voices of the Singers, it being poſſible to reduce the Voices of all to one or other of theſe three, and the three-chorded Lyre might be formed

——————*adeſſe Choris.* Hor.

to ſtrengthen the ſeveral Sounds of the Reciters Voices, without their attempting to make more than one Note from each String. A Trumpet made of a Ram's-Horn could be but a mean Inſtrument, and this was a muſical Inſtrument in the Days of *Joſhua* (*w*), it could be deſigned to ſound but ſome one Note, and three ſuch Trumpets of different Lengths might ſerve as the ancient *Tibia* deſcribed in *Horace* did, and perform by Blaſts what *Mercu-*

(*w*) Joſhua vi.

ry's

ry's three-chorded Lyre was deſigned to do by Strings, namely, to direct the ſeveral Pitches of the Reciters Voices, and to join and add to the Sound of them; and I imagine *Muſick* was not carried higher than this in theſe Days.

Philo ſuggeſts *Moſes* to have learned in *Egypt* the Art of Writing, both in Proſe, and in all ſorts of Meaſure or Verſe (*x*): The beſt and moſt judicious Heathen-Writers did indeed judge him to be very skilful in Style and Language: *Longinus* gives him an extraordinary Character, and thought him a great Maſter of the *Sublime* from his Account of the Creation (*y*); an Obſervation ſo juſt, that one cannot but remark with ſome Surprize, how much Prejudice may vitiate the Taſte and Judgment of a Writer of conſiderable Abilities, of which *Lucian* is an Inſtance, who ſeems to ridicule this very Paſſage (*z*) ſo judiciouſly admired by *Longinus*. No underſtanding Reader of *Moſes*'s Writings can be inſenſible that he was in truth, what St. *Stephen* ſtyles him, *mighty in Words* (*a*), even in *Longinus*'s Senſe; for numerous Inſtances may be given of it; but perhaps

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(*x*) Phil. Jud. de vitâ Moſis. l. 1. (*y*) Ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης οὐχ' ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ. Longin. de Sublim. c. 9. (*z*) Λύει τὸ σκότος, καὶ τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ἀπήλασε λόγῳ μόνῳ χρώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ βραδύγλωσσος ἀπεγράψατο. Lucian. Philopat. p. 1122. (*a*) Acts vii. 22.

no one more ſenſibly affecting than his Account of *Joſeph*'s revealing himſelf to his Brethren, where the Narration, as he has given us it, ſtrikes the Reader with the warmeſt *Pathos*, which Words can give. There was certainly great Force and Life in the Pen of this Writer; but I am not apt to think that he acquired theſe Abilities merely from his *Egyptian* Education any more, than that made him *mighty in Deeds* alſo, which St. *Stephen* joins to his Power in Words, and in which he was undoubtedly aſſiſted in an extraordinary Manner by the Deity.

As to *Moſes* writing ſometimes in Verſe, *Joſephus* ſays, that his Song after the Deliverance from the *Egyptians* was compoſed ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ (*b*) *i. e.* ſay ſome Interpreters, in what we now call *Heroic*, or *Hexameter* Verſe, but I ſhould think this was not *Joſephus*'s meaning; he might perhaps call any Verſe *Hexameter*, which conſiſted of ſix Feet or twelve Syllables, and give it that Name,

——*cum ſenos redderet ictus.* Hor. (*c*)

If we may take *Joſephus* in this Senſe, there is little or no Difference between his Opinion and *Scaliger*'s (*d*) about the Verſe or Meaſure of this Hymn. As to the Lines

(*b*) Exod. xv. (*c*) Lib. de Arte Poeticâ. (*d*) Vid. Scaligeri Animadverſion. in Euſeb. Chron. p. 7.

of it being *Heroic* Verſe, I think any one upon making Trial of the Words may be ſure that they are not. Whether they may not be as *Scaliger* conjectured a Sort of *Iambics*, the Song beginning in Words of this Meaſure,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Aſhirah la Jehovah ci gaoh gaah
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Sus verokbo ramah bajam.

whether the firſt Verſe may not conſiſt of twelve Syllables or ſix Feet, and be a ſort of the *Trimeter* or *Senarian Iambick* Verſe, and whether the ſecond Line may not conſiſt of eight Syllables or four Feet and be a Sort of *Dimeter Iambick*, and whether the reſt of the Hymn can be conceived to be of this ſort of Compoſition, I muſt intirely ſubmit to the Learned. Verſe in *Moſes*'s Time very probably conſiſted only in a juſt Number of Syllables, without any ſtrict Regard to what was afterwards obſerved, the Quantity of them: A greater Regard was perhaps had to Quantity when the Book of *Job* was compoſed, but Verſe was not then adjuſted to that Strictneſs, which it had in the Times of *Homer*.

From what has been ſaid of the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and of *Moſes*'s Education and military Skill, he muſt appear to have been the moſt proper Perſon to lead the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, of any that belonged to them; and as he had former-

ly had an Inclination to attempt it, and had ſet ſome Steps towards it; ſo upon computing the Time they were to be there, and finding it near expired (*f*), he might conſider the wonderful Providence of God in his Preſervation, and in ſo preſerving him as to have him ſo educated, as that at this Time his People had one of their Number well qualified in every Reſpect to be their Leader: However, in all the Thoughts he might have had of this ſort, he found himſelf diſappointed; the People refuſed to have him to be a Judge and Ruler over them (*g*); and he ſaw, that no Scheme could be contrived by human Wiſdom, that might promiſe him Succeſs in endeavouring to deliver them, and therefore he left *Egypt*, and went and married in another Country, and very probably had given over all Thoughts of ever ſeeing or coming any more to the *Iſraelites*: But the private Affairs of all conſiderate Men, do, I believe, afford them many Inſtances of ſome Turn of Life brought about by the Direction of Providence in unexpected Events, when they could not be compaſſed by all the contrived Schemes they could lay for them: And thus it happened in *Moſes*'s Life in a moſt extraordinary Manner. *Moſes* was taking Care of *Jethro*'s

(*f*) Gen. xv. 13, 14, 15, 16. (*g*) Exod, ii. 14. Acts vii. 25, 27, 35.

Flock,

Flock, and followed them as they wandered in their Feeding to the Borders of the Deſart near to Mount *Horeb*, and he ſaw before him a Buſh on Fire, flaming for a conſiderable Time, but not in the leaſt conſumed or diminiſhed with the Fire: He was very much ſurprized at it, and ſtood ſtill to conſider the Meaning of it, and whilſt he did ſo, heard a Voice, which declared the Deſign of God Almighty to deliver the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt* by his Hand, and the whole Manner and Method by (*b*) which he would effect it. *Moſes* had ſo intirely laid aſide all Thoughts of this Enterprize, and had ſo little Opinion of his being able to ſucceed in it, that, tho' he was appointed in an extraordinary manner to undertake it, he very earneſtly refuſed (*i*) it, until he had received many Demonſtrations of the miraculous Power with which God deſigned to aſſiſt him in it. Then indeed he went to *Jethro*, and asked him leave to go from him; and upon *Jethro*'s diſmiſſing him, he took his Wife and Sons and ſet out for *Egypt*. *Moſes* had, I think, caſt away all Thoughts of ever ſeeing his People more; and probably began to think himſelf to have no Part or Expectation in the Promiſes made to *Iſrael*. He had not circumciſed one of his

(*b*) Exod. iii. (*i*) Exod. iii. iv.

Children; for he did it in this Journey (*k*). *Aaron* by God's Appointment met him in the Wilderneſs (*l*), and from thence they went together into *Egypt*, and gathered the Elders of the People of *Iſrael*, and acquainted them with the Buſineſs they came about, and ſhewed them the mighty Works which God had enabled them to perform as Signs that he had ſent them (*m*), upon ſeeing which, the People believed that God did indeed now deſign to viſit them.

And thus *Moſes* and *Aaron* undertook their Expedition into *Egypt*, not raſhly, nor upon any contrived Scheme of their own; but at a Time, when neither of them thought of being employed in ſuch a Manner, at a Time when *Moſes* had a very great Diſinclination to go at all: He was ſettled in *Midian* well enough to his Satisfaction; thought he ſhould find the People very obſtinate and unmanageable, not diſpoſed to believe him, or to be directed by him; and he ſeems moſt earneſtly to have wiſhed, that it would have pleaſed God to have permitted him to live quiet and retired in the Land of *Midian*, and to have ſent ſome other Perſon for the Deliverance of his People (*n*): And when he undertook to carry the Meſſage which God had directed him to go with unto

(*k*) Exod. iv. 25, 26. (*l*) ver. 27. (*m*) ver. 31. (*n*) ver. 13.

Pha-

Pharaoh, he had perhaps ſome Doubts, whether the Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* might not be a Work that would proceed ſlowly, and require much Time to manage; and therefore upon his being informed that the Men were dead which ſought his Life (*o*), he took his Wife and Sons with him as if he deſigned to go and live in *Egypt*, and not like one who expected in a ſhort Time to return with the People, and to ſerve God in Mount *Horeb* (*p*). Certainly in ſome Reſpects his Behaviour was faulty, and as we are informed, that the Anger of the Lord was kindled againſt him (*q*), when he expreſſed the many Excuſes which he made againſt his being ſent to *Egypt*; ſo we are told after he had began his Journey, that it *came to paſs by the way in the Inn, that the Lord met him and ſought to kill him* (*r*). The Account here is exceeding ſhort, but the Circumſtances which are hinted are thought to imply, that God was diſpleaſed at *Moſes*'s not having circumciſed his younger Son: That his Wife *Zipporah* was unwilling to have the Child circumciſed (*ſ*); that as in the Caſe of *Balaam*, when *Balaam* went

(*o*) Exod. iii. 19. (*p*) ver. 12. (*q*) ver. 14. (*r*) ver. 24. *Our Tranſlators have here uſed a very Modern Term,* in the Inn. *The* Hebrew *Word* [מָלוֹן] Malon *ſignifies only where they reſted all Night, which moſt probably was in ſome Cave, or under ſome Shade of Trees.* (*ſ*) ver. 25, 26. *See* Pool's Synopſ. Critic. in loc.

with the Princes of *Moab*, according to the Command which he had received, an Angel oppoſed him in the Way, becauſe he went with a perverſe Intention (*u*); ſo here, tho' *Moſes* began his Journey, yet perhaps he had ſome Coldneſs to the Undertaking, or ſome Thoughts about it which diſpoſed him to keep this Child uncircumciſed, not ſuitable to that better Spirit that ever after appeared in all his Conduct, and gain'd him the Teſtimony of being *faithful to him that appointed him in all his Houſe* (*w*), in every Part of his Diſpenſation. It is generally thought, that *Moſes* at this Time ſent back his Wife and Children to *Jethro* his Father-in-Law (*x*), and went with *Aaron* only into *Egypt*, according to the Directions which he and *Aaron* had received.

Moſes, *Exodus* iii. 13. repreſents, that when he came unto the *Iſraelites*, they might ask him what the Name of God was, and deſires to be inſtructed, what to anſwer to this Queſtion: God had before told him, that he was *the God of his Father*; *the God of Abraham*, *the God of Iſaac*, *and the God of Jacob* (*y*); and *Moſes* acknowledged himſelf inſtructed before he asked this Queſtion, to tell the *Iſraelites* that *the God of their Fathers* had ſent him (*z*); what need could there poſſibly be of

(*u*) Numb. xxii. 32. (*w*) Heb. iii. 2. (*x*) *See* Exod. xviii. 2, 3, 4, 5. (*y*) Exod. iii. 6. (*z*) ver. 13.

hi

his either having, or asking for any further Information? The *Iſraelites* knew of and acknowledged but one God. What then could it ſignify for them to be told, that his Name was *Jehovah*, *El Shaddai*, *Elohim*, *Adonai*, or any other; when by whatever Name he was known, they muſt conſider him as *One* and the ſame, the *only God, moſt high over all the Earth?* The Ancients, both *Jews* and Heathens, and afterwards ſome of the early and learned Writers of the Chriſtian Church, imagined that the Names of Perſons and Things were of the greateſt Importance to be rightly underſtood, in order to lead to the trueſt Knowledge that could be had of their Natures: And they frequently ſpeculated upon this Subject with ſo much philoſophical Subtlety, that they built upon it many fooliſh Fancies and ridiculous Errors. The *Jewiſh Rabbins* thought the true Knowledge of Names to be a Science, preferable to the Study of the written Law (*a*), and they entertained many ſurprizing Fancies about the Word *Jehovah:* One of which was, that it was ſo wonderfully compounded, that no one but an inſpired Perſon could give it a true Pronunciation (*b*): *Plotinus* and *Jamblichus* thought ſome Names to be of ſo cœleſtial a Compoſure,

(*a*) Ficini Argument. in Cratyl. Platonis. (*b*) Id. ibid.

that

that the rightly uſing them could not fail of obtaining Oracles (*c*); and *Phœbus* and *Pythagoras* are ſaid to have cured Diſeaſes by the Uſe of ſuch Names (*d*); and ſuch Opinions as theſe might have their Admirers in the Days of *Origen*, and ſome of them ſeem to have been too eaſily admitted by him (*e*): When they began I cannot ſay, nor whether I may imagine, that *Naaman* the *Syrian* thought the Name of the God of *Iſrael* to be powerful in this Manner (*f*); but certainly it muſt be a Miſtake to think, that *Mercury Triſmegiſtus* was, as *Ficinus* hints (*g*), of this Opi-

(*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Πολλοὶ τ̃ ἐπαδόντων δαίμονας χρῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τ̃ ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβρααμ——ἐκ ἐπεάμψοι τίς ἐσιν ὁ Ἀβρααμ——Ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα πολλαχ̃ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπαγγελλομένοις ἐνέργειάν τινα ἐνέσαρθ μαθήμασι——ἐὰν τοίνυν δυνηθῶμεν παρασ̃σαι φύσιν ὀνομάτων ἐνεργῶν, ὧν τισι χρ̃νται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ Σοφοὶ, ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ Πέρσαις Μάγων οἱ λόγιοι, ἢ τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσοφούντων Βραχμᾶνες, ἢ Σαμαναῖοι, κ καλασκάσαι οἱοίτε γνώμεθα, ὅτι κ ἡ καλυμμένη μαγεία ἐχ', ὡς οἶον οἱ ἀπὸ Ἐπικύρυ κ Ἀριστοτέλυς, πρᾶγμά ἐσιν ἀσύσατον πάντ, ἀλλ', ὡς οἱ περὶ τ̃τα δεινοὶ ἀποδεικνύσι, σωσεσὼς μ̃, λόγυς δ' ἔχει σφόδρα ὀλίγοις γινωσκομένυς, τότ' ἐρ̃μ, ὅτι τὸ μ̃ Σαβαὼθ ὄνομα κ τὸ Ἀδοναὶ, κ ἄλλα παρ' Ἑβραίοις μ̃ πολλ̃ σεμνολογίας ἀπαδιδόμενα, ἐκ ἐπὶ τ̃ τυχόντων κ γυμν̃ κ̃ται πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινι θεολογίας ἀπορρήτυ, ἀναφερομένης εἰς τ̃ τ̃ ὅλων δημιυργὸν——ἵτως ἃ τὰ σημαινόμενα κ̃ τ̃ πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' αἱ τ̃ φωνῶν ποιότητες κ ἰδιότητες ἔχυσί τι δυνατὸν ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς τάδε τινὰ ἢ τάδε. Leg. Origen. cont. Celſum. l. 1. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. (*f*) 2 Kings v. 11. (*g*) Ubi ſup.

nion;

nion; for all theſe Opinions took their Riſe in After-ages, and began from falſe Notions, which the Heathens took up about the Reverence paid to, and the Uſe of the Name *Jehovah* amongſt the ancient *Jews*, and *Moſes* can in no wiſe be ſuppoſed to have been ſo abſurd, as to have deſired to know God's Name, as if the Uſe of that could have given any extraordinary Powers, other than God might give him without his knowing it. It is very evident, that *Abraham* and his Deſcendants worſhipped not only the true and living God, but they *invoked him in the Name of the Lord* (*h*), and they worſhipped *the Lord* in whoſe Name they invoked, ſo that two Perſons were the Objects of their Worſhip, God, and this Lord: And the Scripture has diſtinguiſhed theſe two Perſons from one another by this Circumſtance; that *God no Man hath ſeen at any Time nor can ſee* (*i*), but the Lord whom *Abraham* and his Deſcendants worſhipped, was the Perſon who appeared to them (*k*). God did not always reveal his Will by this Lord, but we meet with Inſtances of Angels commiſſioned for this Purpoſe; and therefore I ſhould imagine, that *Moſes* by asking in whoſe Name he was to go, might deſire to be informed, whether *the Lord* who ap-

(*h*) *See* Book VII. (*i*) 1 Tim. vi. 16. Exod. xxxiii. 20.
(*k*) Gen. xii. 11.

peared

peared to *Abraham*, was to be his mighty Aſſiſtant and Protector, or whether ſome Angel, ſuch as went to *Lot* (*k*), was to deliver the *Iſraelites*.

If we take what the Ancients offered about the Science of Names, rejecting the idle and fanciful Superſtructures which they built upon it, we may form a further Reaſon for *Moſes*'s deſiring to be informed what the Name of God was. Men did not, at this Time, know the Works of the Creation well enough to demonſtrate from them the Attributes of God; nor could they by Speculation, form proper and juſt Notions of his Nature. Some indeed, the Philoſophers of theſe Times, thought themſelves wiſe enough to attempt theſe Subjects; but what was the Succeſs? *profeſſing themſelves Wiſe, they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the uncorruptible God* (*l*). There was not a ſufficient Foundation of a true Knowledge of the Heavens, Elements, and of the Frame of the Univerſe then laid, for Men to build upon, ſo as to attain from the Study of them, ſuitable and proper Notions of the Deity: And hence it came to paſs, that the Builders of theſe Ages, having bad Materials to work with, compoſed weak and indefenſible Syſtems of Theology. When they

(*k*) Gen. xix. (*l*) Rom. i. 22, 23.

had

had ſpeculated upon *the Fire*, or *the Wind*, *the ſwift Air*, or *the Circle of the Stars*, *the violent Water*, or *the Lights of Heaven*, not forming true Notions of their Natures; they were either *delighted with their Beauty*, *or aſtoniſhed at their Power*, and framing very high but falſe Eſtimates of them, they loſt the Knowledge of the Workmaſter, and took the Parts of his Workmanſhip to be God. And ſome Error of this ſort, or Errors as pernicious as theſe, *Moſes* himſelf might have fallen into, if he had endeavoured to have formed his Notions of God, either from the *Egyptian* Learning, or from any Learning at this Time in the World. Faith, or a Belief of what God had revealed (*ll*), was the only Principle upon which he could hope rightly to know God; and this was the Principle, which *Moſes* here deſired to go upon. For as the Revelation which God had made of himſelf, was as yet but ſhort, ſo *Moſes*, by deſiring to know God's Name, deſired that he might have ſome Revelation of his Nature and Attributes made to him. We do not find that the Ancients gave their Names arbitrarily, and without Reaſon; but when *Cain*, *Seth*, *Noah*, *Peleg*, or when *Jacob*'s Children were to be named, Reaſons were

(*ll*) Heb. xi. 3, 6.

given

given for the particular Names they were to be called by *(m)*; and we find ſome Names in Scripture given by God himſelf, and theſe Names are always expreſſive of the Nature or Circumſtances of the Perſon they belong to; thus *Adam* was ſo called, becauſe he was taken out of the Ground. God called *Abram Abraham*, becauſe he deſigned to make him a Father of many Nations *(n)*; and Men endeavoured in the naming Perſons, even from the Beginning, to give Names thus expreſſive, as well as human Wiſdom would enable them to do it. Thus *Adam* called his Wife *Woman*, expreſſing thereby her Origin, becauſe ſhe was taken out of Man *(o)*, and afterwards he called her *Eve*, becauſe ſhe was the Mother of all living *(p)*; and we find that the *Egyptians* were curious in Attempts to name Perſons in this manner, even before *Moſes*'s Days. For we read, that *Pharaoh*, upon *Joſeph*'s interpreting his Dreams, called him *Zaphnath-paaneah*, *i. e.* a Diſcoverer of Things hidden *(q)*; and this Notion of Names was held by the *Iſraelites*, who thought a Perſon rightly named, when his Name expreſſed his Nature; for thus *Abigail* ſpeaks to *David* about *Nabal* her Husband; *As his Name*

(*m*) Gen. iv. 1. & 25. v. 29. viii. 25. & xxx.
(*n*) Chap. xvii. 5. *See* Gen. xxxii. 28, *&c.* (*o*) Gen. ii. 23.
(*p*) Chap. iii. 20. (*q*) Chap. xli. 45.

is,

is, ſo is he; Nabal is his Name, and Folly is with him (r). *Plato* obſerves, that the Names of Heroes, or famous Men, cannot always be expreſſive; but that we may often be deceived, if we gueſs at the Characters of Perſons by their Names, becauſe he ſays, Men receive their Names according to thoſe of their Anceſtors, or their Friends expreſs their good Wiſhes to them in naming them, calling them by ſuch Names as may intimate what the Perſons ſo named may prove to be (*s*); ſo that a diſſolute and wicked Man may be named *Theophilus* by his Parents, who wiſh to have another ſort of Perſon: A weak and inſufficient Prince may be called *Menelaus* by thoſe who name him, in Hopes that he may be a great Defender of his People, tho' he does not afterwards prove to be ſo. And he repreſents *Socrates* in ſome Doubts about the Names which were given to their Gods; becauſe, as he expreſſes it, they were not the true and real Names of the Gods, by which they would call themſelves, but only ſuch as Men had framed from their Opinions and Apprehenſions of the Deities to whom they gave them (*t*); and he adds, that we ſhould

(r) 1 Sam. xxv. 25. (s) Plato in Cratylo, p. 273.
(t) Ὅτι πρὸς θεῶν οὐδὲν ἴσμεν, ὅτε πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτε πρὸς ὀνομάτων, ἅτινα ποτὲ ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσι. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοί γε τἀληθῆ καλοῦσι. Id. ibid. p. 276.

pray

pray to the Gods to enable us to call them by their true Names, for that without this, we cannot form any well-grounded Speculations of their Natures (*u*). This was *Plato*'s Opinion, after he had well weighed all the Learning which had been in the World; and I cannot but think it to agree with *Moſes*'s Sentiments upon this Subject. *Moſes* thought, that when he was to go to the *Iſraelites*, to bring them out of *Egypt*, and to tell them that their God had appointed him and them to ſerve him in Mount *Horeb*, they might ask him, whether he knew what a Being their God was, and how he expected to be ſerved by them. This Queſtion he could not pretend to anſwer, unleſs God thought fit by Revelation to enable him (*w*); and therefore he deſired to be informed, as far as God might think fit to diſcover it, what Name God would call himſelf by, knowing that by obtaining this, He might form juſt Notions of his Nature and Worſhip. That this was *Moſes*'s Deſign in asking for the Name of God, might be confirmed from ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture: When *Moſes* deſired to ſee God's Glory, he obtained that *the Name* of the Lord

(*u*) Δεύτερος δ' ἂν τρόπος ἐρρώτητός ἐστιν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, ὡς ἄλλο μηδὲν εἰδότας. Id. ibid.

(*w*) *See* Exodus x. 26.

ſhould

ſhould be proclaimed before him, and the proclaiming his Name manifeſted to him that he was *Jehovah, El, merciful and gracious, long ſuffering, and abundant in Goodneſs and Truth, keeping Mercy for thouſands, forgiving Iniquity and Tranſgreſſion and Sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty, viſiting the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, and upon the Children's Children, unto the third and fourth Generation* (*x*). Thus the Name, or Names, which God thought fit to give himſelf, were underſtood to be Appellations, that might diſcover his Attributes: And when God was declared to be *a Jealous God*, his Name was ſaid to be *Jealous* (*y*). In the ſame ſtyle and manner of ſpeaking, *Iſaiah* propheſying what the *Meſſiah* ſhould be, declares his Name to be *Wonderful, Counſellor, The mighty God, The everlaſting Father, The Prince of Peace* (*z*). And the Name of the ſame Perſon was *Emmanuel*, becauſe *He was God with us* (*a*), and *Jeſus*, becauſe he was to *ſave his People from their Sins* (*b*). Thus, I think, it muſt be plain, that the Deſign of *Moſes*, in asking God's Name, was to obtain himſelf an Information, 1. Who the Perſon was that was to be their Deliverer; for we find this he particularly

(*x*) Exodus xxxiii. 18, 19. xxxiv. 5, 6, 7. (*y*) Ver. 14.
(*z*) Iſaiah ix. 6. (*a*) Matt. i. 23. (*b*) Ver. 21.

enquired after (*c*). And, 2. What the Nature and Attributes of that Perſon were, in order to know what Duties he would expect from them, and how they were to ſerve him.

In the Anſwer, which God thought fit to give to *Moſes*'s Queſtion, he declared himſelf to be I AM THAT I AM, and bad *Moſes* call his Name I AM, and ſay I AM *hath ſent me unto you* (*d*). Moreover he added, that he was *the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob* (*e*). In thoſe laſt Words He declares himſelf to be the Perſon, who had appeared to *Abraham*, and had made the Promiſe to him and his Seed (*f*); and had made the Covenant with him (*g*); and was worſhipped by him and his Deſcendants *Iſaac* and *Jacob* (*h*): And in the former Words, He intimates his Eſſential Divinity, expreſſing himſelf to be I AM, or I AM THAT I AM, (*i*) *i. e. independent, immutable, ſelf-exiſtent.* That the Name here declared to belong to the God of *Abraham* is of this Signification, is inconteſtably proved by the moſt celebrated Writers, to whoſe Reaſonings upon this Subject, as I cannot pretend to add either Strength or Perſpicuity more than they

(*c*) Exodus xxxiii. 12. (*d*) Exodus iii. 14. (*e*) Ver 15. (*f*) Gen. xii. 7. (*g*) Chap. xiii. (*h*) Chap. xii. 7, 8. xiii. 18. xxvi. 24, 25. & xxxii. 9. (*i*) Exodus iii. 14.

have

have given them, ſo I ſhall only refer the Reader to them *(k)*. But as there is a Paſſage in a moſt excellent Heathen Writer, which tho' very appoſite, yet as not offering it ſelf in a Controverſy between Chriſtian Writers, has not, that I know of, been taken notice of, I would produce that, becauſe it may ſhew what an acute and judicious Heathen would have concluded from this Name of God here revealed to *Moſes*. We are informed that there was an ancient Inſcription in the Temple at *Delphos*, over the Place where the Image of *Apollo* was erected, conſiſting of theſe Letters EI. And *Plutarch* introduces his Diſputants querying, what might be the true Signification of it; at length *Ammonius*, to whom he aſſigns the whole ſtrength of the Argumentation, concludes, that the Word EI was the moſt perfect Title they could give the Deity *(l)*;

(k) *See* Waterland's *Vindication*, &c. Qu. III.

(l) Ἡμεῖς ὑ ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν θεὸν ΕΙ φαμὲν, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀψαδῆ καὶ μόνῳ μόνῳ προσήκουσαν τῷ τὸ εἶναι προσαγορεύσιν ἀποδιδόντες. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως τὸ εἶναι μέτεσιν οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένη φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ἀβέβαιον αὐτῆς. —— ἀλλ' ὄντιν ὁ θεὸς χρὴ φᾶναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ' οὐδένα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καθὰ τὸν αἰῶνα, τ' ἀκίνητον, καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ ἀτέλευτον, καὶ ᾧ πρότερον οὐδὲν ὕστερον, οὐδ' ὕστερον, οὐδὲ νεώτερον, ἀλλ' εἷς ὢν ἐνὶ τῷ νῦν τὸ ἀεὶ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ μόνον ὄντι τὸ καθὰ τοῦτο ὄντως ὄν, ὃ γεγονὸς, οὐδ' ἐσόμενον, οὐδ' ἀρξάμενον, οὐδὲ παυσόμενον. Vid. Plutarch. Lib. Ei apud Delphos, p. 392, 393.

that it ſignifies THOU ART, and expreſſes the Divine Eſſential Being; importing, that tho' our Being is precarious, fluctuating, dependent, ſubject to Mutation, and temporary; ſo that it would be improper to ſay to any of us, in the ſtrict and abſolute Senſe, ἐγώ or THOU ART; yet we may with great Propriety give the Deity this Appellation, becauſe God is independent, uncreated, immutable, eternal, always and every where the ſame, and therefore HE only can be ſaid abſolutely TO BE. *Plutarch* would have called this Being τὸ ὄντως ὄν, *Plato* would have named him τὸ ὄν, which he would have explained to ſignify οὐσία, implying Him *to be eſſentially* or *ſelf-exiſtent* (*m*).

In the ſixth Chapter of *Exodus*, we have a further Account of God's revealing himſelf to *Moſes* by the Name *JEHOVAH*, a Word of much the ſame Import with I AM, or I AM THAT I AM; and we are there told, that the Lord was not known to *Abraham*, to *Iſaac*, or to *Jacob*, by this Name *JEHOVAH*, but by the Name of God Almighty, or *El-Shaddai*. This muſt ſeem to be the plain Meaning of the Words (*n*), and in this Senſe I thought my ſelf obliged to take them (*o*), until I ſhould come to examine

(*m*) Plat. in Cratyl. p. 289.

(*n*) ושמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם. ver. 3. (*o*) Book VI.

this

this Subject more at large here in its proper Place. The Name *Jehovah* was, I believe, known to be the Name of the ſupreme God, in the early Ages, in all Nations. The Perſon, who here ſpoke unto *Moſes*, and declared himſelf to be the Perſon who appeared to *Abraham*, to *Iſaac*, and to *Jacob*, is no where particularly mentioned in the Book of *Geneſis* before the Flood, or after the Flood, before the Birth of *Abraham*. But tho' this Perſon did reveal himſelf to *Abraham*, to *Iſaac*, and to *Jacob*, by the Name of *El Shaddai*, or God Almighty *(p)*; yet it is moſt evident from ſome very expreſs Paſſages in the Book of *Geneſis*, that they all knew him by the Name of *Jehovah* alſo; and therefore if we explain this Paſſage in *Exodus* to ſignify, that He was not known until *Moſes*'s Time by the Name *Jehovah*, we ſhall make it directly contradict ſome very clear and expreſs Paſſages of the Hiſtory of the precedent Times.

I. The Name *Jehovah* was known to be the Name of the ſupreme God, in all Nations in the early Times. *Ficinus* remarked, that all the ſeveral Nations of the World had a Name for the ſupreme Deity, conſiſting of four Letters only *(q)*. This

(p) Gen. xvii. 1. *See* xxviii. 3. & xxxv. 11.

(q) Ficini Argument. ad Platon. Cratyl. *The Word* Jehovah, *tho'*

the

I think was true at firſt in a different Senſe from that in which *Ficinus* took it; for I queſtion not but they uſed the very ſame Word, until the Languages of different Nations came to have a more intire Diſagreement, than the Confuſion at *Babel* at firſt cauſed (*r*). When the Corruptions of Religion grew to be many, and very conſiderable, Men found different Names for their Gods, according to their different Fancies and Imaginations about them (*s*); but whilſt they adhered to the Knowledge and Worſhip of the one true God, who had revealed himſelf to their Fathers, there was no Room for them to invent other Names to expreſs his Nature or Divinity by, than thoſe by which he had revealed himſelf to them; and accordingly, as we find the Word *Jehovah* uſed in the earlieſt Days, for it occurrs above thirty times in the Book of *Geneſis* before the Flood; ſo we meet with many Inſtances of the ſupreme God called by this Name, in different Countries, where the particular Revelations (*t*) made to *Abraham* and his Deſcen-

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the Inſertion of the Vowels in our Language requires it to be written with ſeven Letters, is wrote in Hebrew *with four only, thus,* יהוה i. e. Jhvh, *and is therefore called the* Tetragrammaton, *or four-letter'd Name of God.* (*r*) *See* Book II. p. 139. Book III. p. 146, 147. (*s*) Plato *ſuppoſes that the* Greeks *formed the Word* Θεὸς *from the Verb* Θεῖν, *obſerving the Stars and Lights of Heaven, which they took to be Gods, to run their ſeveral Courſes, and therefore they called them* Θεοὶ. *See* Plat. in Cratyl. p. 273. (*t*) *See* Book V. p. 287.

dants

dants were not known, or not embraced as part of their Religion. The King of *Sodom* knew the moſt high God by the Name of *Jehovah*, for he admitted *Abraham*'s giving him this Appellation (*u*); and *Lot* knew God by the Name of *Jehovah* (*x*); and ſo, I ſhould imagine, did the Men of *Sodom*; for tho' they thought *Lot*'s Account of God's Deſign to deſtroy their City, to be but a romantic Imagination of his, yet they are not repreſented not to know the *Lord*, as *Pharaoh* was afterwards (*y*), tho' they were exceedingly wicked and abominable in their Lives. *Abimelech* King of the *Philiſtines* knew *Jehovah*, and was his Servant in *Abraham*'s Time (*z*); for the Fear of God was then in that Kingdom, tho' *Abraham* had entertained without juſt Grounds a bad Opinion of *Abimelech* and his Subjects; and we find *Jehovah* mentioned here by the King, in the Days of *Iſaac* (*a*). God was known by this Name in the Family of *Bethuel* in *Meſopotamia*, when *Abraham* ſent thither (*b*); and afterwards in *Jacob*'s Days, *Laban* knew God by this Name (*c*); tho' it is remarkable, that he did not uſe the Word entirely in the ſame ſenſe as *Jacob* did; for *Laban* meant by it the God of *Abra-*

(*u*) Gen. xiv. 22. (*x*) Ibid. xix. 14. (*y*) Exod. v. 2, (*z*) Gen. xx. 11. & 18. (*a*) Ibid. xxvi. 28. (*b*) Ibid. xxiv. 31, 50. (*c*) Ibid. xxx. 27.

ham and the God of *Nahor*, the God of their Father, but *Jacob* ſware by the *Fear of his Father* Iſaac (*d*); *i. e. Laban* meant by *Jehovah*, the ſupreme true and living God, which the Fathers of *Abraham*, and *Abraham* had worſhipped, before he received further Revelations, than were imparted to the reſt of Mankind, and before he built an Altar *to the Lord, who* had *appeared to him.* After this, *Abraham* and his Poſterity determined that this Lord alſo ſhould be their God (*e*), and they invoked God *in the Name* of this Lord (*f*). God was known by the Name of *Jehovah* to *Job* the *Arabian* (*g*); but it was not *the Lord, who appeared* unto *Abraham*, whom he knew by this Name; but rather *God, whom no Man hath ſeen at any time* (*h*). *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, in *Moſes*'s Time, is ſaid not to know *Jehovah* (*i*); and indeed, Corruptions in Religion began in *Egypt* very early, and were arrived at a very great Height e're theſe Days; but ſtill, it may be queried, whether *Pharaoh* was really ignorant, that *Jehovah* was the Name of the ſupreme Deity, or whether he only did not know the God of the *Hebrews* (*k*) by this Title. God's Judgments were executed upon *Egypt*, not to con-

(*d*) Gen. xxxi. 53. (*e*) Ibid. xxviii. 21. (*f*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. (*g*) Job i. 21. (*h*) *See* Job ix. 11.
(*i*) Exodus v. 2. (*k*) Ver. 1. & 3.

vince

vince *Pharaoh* and his People, that *Jehovah* was the Supreme God; but to make them know, that the God of the *Hebrews* was *Jehovah* (*l*). The *Moabites* knew the Supreme God by this Name (*m*), tho' they were greatly corrupted with Idolatry (*n*); and we have a Hint from *Philo-Biblius*, which ſeems to intimate, that the God of the *Phœnicians* was anciently called by this Name, if we may ſuppoſe that *Jevo* or *Jao* may be a Corruption of it; for it is ſaid, that *Hierombalus*, who ſupplied *Sanchoniatho* with Materials for his *Phœnician* Hiſtory, was Prieſt of the God *Jevo* (*o*). But we have a very remarkable Inſtance, of the Word *Jehovah* uſed by an Heathen for the Name of the Supreme Deity, in contradiſtinction to the God of the *Hebrews*, in Times very late, even in the Days of *Hezekiah* (*p*). *Rabſhekah*, who well underſtood the *Hebrew* Language, in delivering his Maſter the King of *Aſſyria*'s Meſſage, which he expreſſed in the *Hebrew* Tongue (*q*), profeſſed, that he was not *come up againſt Jeruſalem without the Lord* [i. e. *Jehovah*] *to deſtroy it*, for that *the Lord* ſaid unto him, *Go up againſt this Land and deſtroy it* (*r*). That *Rabſhekah*, by *the Lord*, or

(*l*) Exodus vii. 5. & xiv. 18. (*m*) Numb. xxiv. 11.
(*n*) Ibid. xxv. 2, 3. (*o*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.
(*p*) 2 Kings xviii. (*q*) Ver. 26. (*r*) Ver. 25.

Jehovah

Jehovah here, did not mean the God of the *Jews*, tho' at the ſame Time he knew that they called their God by this Name, is evident, from his very plainly diſtinguiſhing them one from the other. He aſſerts, that he had an Order from *Jehovah*, (*i. e.* he meant from the Supreme God) to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*; but as to the God whom the *Jews* called *Jehovah*, and whom *Rabſhekah* ſtyled *the Lord their God (s)*, he obſerves, 1. That He would not aſſiſt them if he could, for that *Hezekiah* had provoked him (*t*). 2. That He could not preſerve them if He would; for that none of the Gods of the Nations had been able to deliver their Favourites out of his Maſter's Hand (*u*). The Gods of *Hamath*, of *Arpad*, and of *Sepharvaim*, had not been able to deliver *Samaria*; and He thought all Hopes of Preſervation from the God of the *Jews* would be alike vain. 3. That *Rabſhekah* really thought the God of the *Jews* to be only an inferior Deity, or God of a Country, is evident from the Opinion which the *Aſſyrians* had of him: They thought him the God of the Land of the *Jews* (*w*), and appointed a Prieſt to teach the People, which they had planted in *Samaria*, *the Manner of the God of the Land, that He might not ſlay*

(*s*) 2 Kings xviii. 22. (*t*) Ibid. (*u*) Ver. 33, 34, 35.
(*w*) Chap. xvii. 24—28.

them

them with Lions. Thus the *Greeks* in *Homer* thought it neceſſary to appeaſe *Apollo*, that He might not deſtroy them with a Peſtilence; or rather I might inſtance from *Xenophon*, who repreſents *Cyrus* taking particular Care to render the Θεοὶ πατρῷοι, or Gods of the Countries which he warred againſt, propitious to him (*y*). Such a God as one of theſe *Rabſhekah* thought the God of *Iſrael*. For, 4. It is plain, that He did not think him to be the Deity, or *the Lord*, without whom he affirmed, that He was not come up againſt *Jeruſalem*; for *Hezekiah* remonſtrated, that he had reproached the living God (*z*), and prayed that God would ſave them; that, ſays he, *all the Kingdoms of the Earth may know, that thou art the Lord God, even thou only* (*a*). When *Rabſhekah* had profeſſed, that he was not come up *without the Lord* againſt them, and that *the Lord* had ſaid unto him, Go up againſt this Land and deſtroy it; if by *the Lord*, he had here intended the God of the *Jews*, what Reaſon could there be to accuſe him of reproaching this God? but *Hezekiah*'s Charge againſt him is well grounded, and pertinent to his whole Speech and Behaviour, if we take him by *the Lord* to mean not the God of

(*y*) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 3. (*z*) 2 Kings xix. 4.
(*a*) Ver. 19.

the

the *Jews*, but the ſupreme Deity in Oppoſition to him: For herein conſiſted his Blaſphemy, that he thought the God whom *Hezekiah* called *the Lord*, not to be the ſupreme Deity, but only a God of a Nation, ſuch a Deity as the God of *Hamath*, of *Arpad*, and of *Sepharvaim*, who in truth were no Gods; and what *Hezekiah* prayed for was, that the God of the *Jews* would, in Oppoſition to theſe blaſphemous Sentiments, ſhew, that He was *the Lord God*, even *He only*, and that there could not be any divine Commiſſion to hurt thoſe who were under his Protection. The Heathens even in the later Days of their Idolatry were not ſo groſs in their Notions, but that they believed, that there was but one ſupreme God. They did indeed worſhip a multitude of Deities, but they ſuppoſed all but one to be ſubordinate Divinities. They had always a Notion of one Deity ſuperior to all the Powers of Heaven, and all the other Deities were conceived to have different Offices or Miniſtrations under him, being appointed to preſide over Elements, over Cities, over Countries, and to diſpenſe Victory to Armies, Health, Life, and other Bleſſings to their Favourites, if permitted by the ſupreme Power. *Heſiod* ſuppoſes one God to be the Father of the other Deities;

——— Ζεὺς

—— Θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ Ἀνδρῶν· (*b*)

and *Homer* in many Paſſages in the *Iliad*, repreſents one ſupreme Deity preſiding over all the reſt (*c*); and the moſt celebrated of their Philoſophers always endeavoured to aſſert this Theology (*d*), and this was undoubtedly *Rabſhekah*'s Opinion; and as the ſupreme Deity had in Time different Names in different Languages, ſo *Rabſhekah* thought *Jehovah* to be the proper *Hebrew* Name for him.

II. We have no Reaſon to imagine, that the Patriarchs, who lived before the Days of *Abraham*, knew *the Lord, who appeared* unto *Abraham*, and who ſpoke unto *Moſes* (*e*), by the Name *Jehovah*. If we conſider the Hiſtory of the Bible, we may find juſt Reaſon to remark of the ſeveral

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(*b*) Heſiod. Theogon. (*c*) Vid. Iliad. 7. ver. 202. 8. ver. 5—28, &c. *See* Virg. Æn. 2. ver. 777.

—— —— non hæc ſine NUMINE Divûm
Eveniunt; non te hinc comitem aſportare Creüſam
Fas: haud ille ſinit ſuperi regnator Olympi.

Jupiter *is here ſuppoſed to be the* Numen Divûm, *and his Will to be the* Fas, *or Fate, which no one might contradict*: Fatum eſt, ſays Cicero, non id quod ſuperſtitioſè ſed quod Phyſicè dicitur cauſa æterna Rerum. *de Divin. l.* 1. *c.* 55. Deum —— interdum Neceſſitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter poſſit atque ab eo conſtitutum ſit. *Id. Academ. Quæſt. l.* 4. *c.* 44. (*d*) Cic. in Lib. de Nat. Deorum. in Acad. Quæſt. l. 1. c. 7. Ibid. c. 34. Plat. de Legib. l. 10. in Phileb. in Cratyl. &c. Ariſtot. l. de mundo. *c.* 6. Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ. l. 1. Id. in Lib. de EI apud Delphos. P. 393. (*e*) Exod. vi. 2, 3.

Revela-

Revelations recorded in it, that they all tend, with a ſurprizing Harmony and Conſiſtency, to confirm and illuſtrate one uniform Scheme of Providence, which was gradually opened thro' a long Succeſſion of Ages, until *in the Fulneſs of Time Chriſt was manifeſted in the Fleſh*, and *the Will, Counſel* or *Deſign, hidden Wiſdom* or *Purpoſe of God* (*f*), *which was ordained before the World* (*g*), but not fully revealed to the former Ages and Generations, came at length to be made manifeſt to thoſe who embraced the Goſpel (*h*); but the further we look backwards we find a leſſer Diſcovery of this intended Scheme, tho' we have plain Intimations of ſome Part of it in every Age from the Foundation of the World. *Adam* and *Eve* had a Revelation made to them of a Perſon to come for the great and univerſal Benefit of Mankind (*i*), and the whole Syſtem of Worſhip by way of Sacrifice practiſed in the very firſt Ages, appears moſt reaſonably to have been founded upon the Deſign of the true Propitiation which was to be made by *Chriſt* for the Sins of the World (*k*); but we read of no divine Appearance to any Perſon before the Days of *Abraham*: He was the firſt who *built an Altar to*, and worſhipped *the Lord who appeared to him* (*l*).

(*f*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. p. 285. (*g*) 1 Cor. ii. 7. (*h*) Coloſſ. i. 26. (*i*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. p. 286. (*k*) B. 2. p. 84. (*l*) Gen. xii. 7.

Adam

Adam heard the Voice of God many Times (*m*); God ſpoke to *Cain* (*n*), to *Noah* (*o*), and probably to many others of the *Antediluvians*; but it is no where intimated that *the Lord appeared* unto any one Perſon, until we are told that he appeared unto *Abraham* (*p*), and then it is obſerved as what had not been before practiſed, that *Abraham built an Altar unto the Lord who appeared to him* (*q*); ſo that *Abraham* ſeems to have been the firſt Perſon who knew or worſhipped this Lord. Mankind, before he had received freſh and further Revelations than had been made to the World, worſhipped *Jehovah Elohim*, the true and living God; but they worſhipped God *whom no Man had ever ſeen nor could ſee*, and whom *Job* therefore believed to be inviſible (*r*); but the Deſcendants of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, and their Children, worſhipped not only the inviſible God, but this Lord alſo, and this Lord appeared to *Moſes*, and declared himſelf to be the God of their Fathers, who had appeared unto divers of them, and who purpoſed by his Hand to deliver the *Iſraelites*. This was the Perſon who was to be *Jacob*'s God (*ſ*), and whom he called *the Fear of his Father Iſaac*, and whom he

(*m*) Gen. ii. 16, 18. iii. 8, 9, &c. (*n*) iv. 9, 15. (*o*) vi. 13. vii. 1. viii. 15. ix. 1, 8, 12, 17. (*p*) xii. 7. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Job. ix. 11. (*ſ*) Gen. xxviii. 20.

diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed from the *God of Abraham, the God of Nahor, the God of their Father, i. e.* from the God whom they worſhipped before this Lord had revealed himſelf to them. In all the ſeveral Paſſages where the Word *Jehovah* occurs before the Lord's appearing unto *Abraham* (*t*), which are near forty, I am not ſenſible that there are any, where the Word neceſſarily refers to *the Lord who appeared to Abraham*; and it is evident that the *Antediluvians* uſed the Words *Jehovah* or *Elohim* as equivalent Terms, taking them both for Names of the one true and living God. Thus *Eve*, when upon the Birth of *Cain* ſhe ſaid that ſhe had *gotten a Man from* [*Jehovah*] *the Lord* (*u*), meant exactly the ſame by the Term *Jehovah*, as ſhe did by *Elohim*, when at the Birth of *Seth* ſhe ſaid that [Elohim] *God had appointed her another* (*w*). And thus likewiſe it was remarked, that in *Enos*'s Days Men were called *by the Name of* [Jehovah] *the Lord* (*x*); by which Expreſſion was meant, that they obtained the Name, which we find afterwards given them, and were called *the Sons* [*ha Elohim*] *of God* (*y*). *Elohim* and *Jehovah* were the Names of the God of Heaven, and God was generally called in the Hiſtory of theſe Times by both theſe

(*t*) Gen. xii. 7. (*u*) iv. 1. (*w*) ver. 25. (*x*) ver. 26. *See* Vol. I. B. 1. p. 42. (*y*) vi. 2.

Names

Names put together, *Jehovah Elohim*, or as we render them in *Engliſh*, the LORD GOD (*z*).

III. The Lord, who appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Iſaac*, and unto *Jacob*, did indeed many Times reveal himſelf to them by the Name of *El Shaddai*, or as *Moſes* expreſſes it, he *appeared* unto them *by the Name* (*a*) *of God Almighty*; but it is evident, that by his *Name Jehovah* he was alſo known unto them. When *Abram* was ninety Years old and nine, the LORD [Jehovah] appeared to *Abram*, and ſaid unto him, I am the Almighty God [El Shaddai] (*b*). In this Paſſage is related that *Jehovah* appeared unto *Abraham*, this is *Moſes*'s Narration of the Fact, and it may be obſerved, that he might here as an Hiſtorian, knowing the Perſon who appeared to have a Right to the Name *Jehovah*, call him by that Name, tho' it is evident, that God who appeared here did not call himſelf in this Place *Jehovah*, but ſaid to *Abraham I am* [El Shaddai] *the Almighty God*, and by that Name only was here known unto him: In the ſame Manner it is remarkable, that this Perſon manifeſted himſelf to *Iſaac* and his Deſcendants by this particular Name of *God Almighty*. The God who appeared unto *Jacob* ſaid unto him, *I am God Al-*

(*z*) Gen. ii. 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, &c. iii. 8, 9, 13, 14, 22, &c. *and thus* ix. 26. (*a*) Exodus vi. 3. (*b*) Gen. xvi. 1,

mighty (*c*); and this *El Shaddai*, or *God Almighty*, was the Perſon whom *Jacob* prayed to be with his Sons when he ſent them to *Egypt* (*d*), and whom he reminded them to have appeared to him at *Luz* in *Canaan* (*e*), and whom he particularly calls the God of *Joſeph*'s Father, in his Bleſſing him at his Death (*f*); ſo that what *Moſes* records, that this their God was known to them by his Name of *God Almighty*, is abundantly clear from theſe and many other Paſſages, which might be cited. But that this Lord was alſo known to them by the Name *Jehovah*, ſeems apparent from the following Paſſages amongſt others. *Abraham* called the Place where he went to offer *Iſaac* (*g*) *Jehovah-jireh*, which I imagine he would not have done, if he had not known the Lord by this Name of *Jehovah* at that Time: *Abraham*'s Servant called the God of his Maſter *Abraham*, *Jehovah* (*h*); but *Gen.* xxviii. 13. is very full and expreſs. *Jacob*, in the Viſion there recorded, ſaw the Lord ſtanding before him, and the Lord ſaid, *I am the Lord God*, or rather, *I am Jehovah the God of Abraham thy Father, and the God of Iſaac* (*i*). Here the Lord very expreſly

(*c*) Gen. xxxv. 11. (*d*) xliii. 14. (*e*) xlviii. 3.
(*f*) xlix. 25. (*g*) xxii. 14. (*h*) xxiv. 12, 26, 40.
(*i*) *See* xxxv. 1. *where* Jacob *was directed to God who appeared to him at* Bethel, *i. e. in the Place where he ſaw this Viſion. And* Jacob *himſelf ſays, that God Almighty appeared here unto him. See* Gen. xlviii. 3.

revealed

revealed himſelf to *Jacob* by his Name *Jehovah*, and accordingly *Jacob* hereupon reſolved that *this Lord* ſhould be his God (*k*), and in purſuance of this Reſolution, he was reminded afterwards to build an Altar as *Abraham* had done, not unto God, *whom no Man hath ſeen at any Time, nor can ſee*; but unto *God, who had appeared to him* (*l*): It is therefore evidently clear, that God, who ſpoke unto *Moſes*, and declared himſelf to have appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Iſaac*, and unto *Jacob*, was known unto them by his Name *Jehovah*, and therefore our *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the latter Part of the 3d Verſe of the ſixth Chap. of *Exodus*, in theſe Words, *but by my Name Jehovah was I not known unto them*, is undoubtedly a faulty Tranſlation, not rightly expreſſing what *Moſes* intended in this Place. The beſt and moſt accurate Writers have remarked upon this Place, that the latter Part of the Verſe ſhould be read interrogatively, thus; *By my Name Jehovah was I not known unto them?* If we take the Sentence interrogatively, every one will ſee that it plainly intimates, that the Lord had revealed himſelf to them by this Name, which is agreeable to *Moſes*'s Account of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*'s Knowledge and Worſhip of

(*k*) Gen. xxviii. 21. (*l*) xxxv. 1.

the Deity: But to take the Words without the Interrogation, and ſuppoſe them to intend, that the Lord who appeared to *Abraham*, was not known to him, to *Iſaac* and to *Jacob*, by his Name *Jehovah*, cannot be reconciled to ſome very expreſs Paſſages in the Book of *Geneſis*.

In the LXX Verſion, the Words are agreeable to our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μȣ Κύριȣ ȣκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς, but it has been obſerved by the Learned, that ſome of the *Greek* Writers read the Words καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μȣ Κύριȣ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς· that is; *my Name* Jehovah *I made known unto them*; which Interpretation is favoured by the *Arabick* Verſion. The Words of *Moſes* may indeed be ſuppoſed to hint, that the Lord, who appeared unto *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and to *Moſes*, was not known by the Name *Jehovah*, before *Abraham*'s Days, and this I think agrees with the Book of *Geneſis*; for we no where find him mentioned, before he appeared unto *Abraham*, and before *Abraham* built an Altar unto the LORD, who appeared to him (*n*).

I am ſenſible I have been very large in this Digreſſion upon the Name of God: I was willing to be as particular as might be, becauſe I would obſerve from the whole of what occurs about it, that it is remarkable from the Writings of *Moſes*, that there

(*n*) Gen. xii. 7.

were

were two different and diſtinct Perſons known and worſhipped by the Faithful from the Days of *Abraham*; *God whom no Man hath ſeen at any Time*, and *the Lord who* at divers Times *appeared* to them. The Lord who appeared to them, is allowed by the beſt (*o*) and moſt judicious Writers, to have been the ſame divine Perſon, who afterwards *took upon him the Seed of Abraham*, and was made Man, and dwelt amongſt the *Jews*; and accordingly the Prophet *Zechariah* calls this Perſon, whom the *Jews* were to pierce, *Jehovah* (*p*); And therefore, ſince according to *Plutarch*'s Senſe and Interpretation of the *Delphian* EI, this divine Perſon could not juſtly have been called *Jehovah*, if he had not been truly and eſſentially God; ſince according to *Plato*'s Account of the ancient Opinions about Names, no Perſon could have a Name given from Heaven but what truly agreed to, and expreſſed his Nature and Perſon (*q*); ſince we muſt conclude from *Iſaiah*, that God would not *give his Name and Glory to another* (*r*); ſince according to what may be inferred from the Words of the inſpired Writer of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, we ought to think this divine Perſon *ſo much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained*

(*o*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. p. 292. (*p*) Zech. xii.
(*q*) In Cratylo. (*r*) Iſaiah xlii. 8.

a more excellent Name than they (*ſ*): It muſt appear, (this Perſon being many Times called by the Name of *Jehovah* in the Old Teſtament) that we have, if we duly attend to them, great and weighty Proofs of the true and eſſential Deity of our bleſſed Saviour in the Old Teſtament, whatever ſome very learned and conſiderable Writers have hinted to the contrary. I need not before I leave this Subject remark, that neither *Abraham* nor his Children ran into the Errors of Polytheiſm; for tho' it appears, that they acknowledged more Perſons than one to have a Right to the eſſential Name of God, yet their Belief was, that *the Lord their God was* One [Jehovah] LORD (*t*): *God, whom no Man hath ſeen at any Time, nor can ſee, and the* LORD, *who appeared unto Abraham,* were not ſuppoſed to be one and the ſame Perſon; but as they were called by one and the ſame Name, by a Name which could not be given to another, ſo they were believed to be of *one Nature*, they were *one Being*, in a Word, as is expreſſed *Deuter.* vi. 4. they were one *Jehovah*, tho' revealed to be more Perſons than one (*u*).

When *Moſes* and *Aaron* were come to *Egypt*; after they had converſed with the

(*ſ*) Hebrews i. 4. (*t*) Deuter. vi. 4. (*u*) See Dr. Waterland's *Defence*, &c. Qu. III.

Elders

Elders of the Children of *Iſrael*, they went to *Pharaoh*, and delivered their Meſſage, according to the Orders which God had given them, requiring the King to give the *Iſraelites* leave to go three Days Journey into the Wilderneſs, to perform a Sacrifice unto the Lord their God (*a*). *Pharaoh*, as he was ſatisfied with the Belief of his own Religion, did not ſee that there was any Neceſſity for ſuch a Sacrifice as they ſpake of, and therefore anſwered that he knew of no ſuch God as the God of *Iſrael* (*b*). He thought that they might ſerve the Gods where they were, and reſolved not to ſuffer them to go out of the Land. He ſuſpected that they had a Deſign of revolting from his Service, and had been laying Schemes to get out of his Dominions; an Argument to him, that they had too much Leiſure, and he thought he ſhould effectually check their indulging themſelves in Contrivances of this ſort, if he took Care to leave them fewer vacant Hours, and therefore he ordered greater Tasks and more Work to be enjoined them (*c*). He reprimanded *Moſes* and *Aaron* for going amongſt the People, and interrupting them in their Employments, and ordered his Task-Maſters to be more ſtrict with them, and to preſs them to harder Labour (*d*); ſo that the People began to

(*a*) Exodus v. 3. (*b*) ver. 2. (*c*) ver. 6. (*d*) ver. 17.

be greatly discouraged, and to wish that *Moses* and *Aaron* had never came among them (*e*).

A few Days passed, and *Moses* and *Aaron* came again unto *Pharaoh*, and repeated the Demand, which they had before made, for his dismissing the *Israelites* (*f*). Hereupon *Pharaoh* desired them to shew him some Miracle, to induce him to believe that they were indeed sent by the God they spake of. *Moses* ordered *Aaron* to cast the Rod, which he had in his Hand, upon the Ground; *Aaron* did so, and the Rod was immediately changed into a Serpent. *Pharaoh* was surprized at this Transmutation, but he called together his learned Men, the Magicians and Sorcerers of *Egypt*, and ordered them to try if they could not by their Arts and Sciences cause such a Transmutation. They attempted and succeeded, changed their Rods (*ff*) into Serpents as *Aaron* had done; so that *Pharaoh* did not think this a true Miracle, but only an Effect, which might be produced by a Man who had studied the secret Powers of Nature. As it pleased God to permit the Magicians so far to succeed as to delude *Pharaoh*; so at the same Time, God, who never tempts or ensnares any Man into Evil (*g*), did by

(*e*) Exod. v. 21. (*f*) Chap vii. 10. (*ff*) Ibid. ver. 12.
(*g*) James i. 13, 14.

a re-

a remarkable Circumſtance in this Miracle give the King ſufficient Reaſon to have conſidered it more ſeriouſly: *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallowed up all the Rods of the Magicians; but *Pharaoh*'s Heart was averſe to the Thoughts of parting with the *Iſraelites*, and ſo he did not let this Circumſtance make a due Impreſſion upon his Mind.

I have already hinted, that *Pharaoh*'s Deſign in oppoſing his Magicians to *Moſes*, was to ſee whether the Wonders which *Moſes* wrought were the Effect of the Art of Man, of the Powers of Nature, or *the Finger of God*. *Philo Judæus* (*h*) and *Joſephus* (*i*), do both ſet this Tranſaction in the ſame Light. I am ſenſible it may ſeem poſſible to repreſent it otherwiſe: It may perhaps be ſaid, that *Pharaoh* never queſtioned, but that the Wonders which *Moſes* did were real Miracles, wrought by the Power of the God which ſent him, and that he employed his Magicians, not in order to judge whether *Moſes*'s Works were real Miracles or no, but to ſee whether his own Prieſts could not, by the Help and Aſſiſtance of the *Egyptian* Gods, do as great Miracles as *Moſes* did by the Power of the God of *Iſrael*, that he might know whether the God of *Iſrael* could really com-

(*h*) Philo de vitâ Moſis, l. 1. p. 616. (*i*) Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 13.

pel

pel him to dismiss his People, or whether he might not hope to be protected in keeping them by the Power of his own Gods, in Opposition to the Threatnings of the God of *Israel*. But this Supposition is not to be supported by any true Accounts of the Heathen Theology, nor can it agree with *Moses*'s Representation of the Magicians using their Inchantments, and the Confession they made when they could not succeed in the Use of them.

It cannot be thought, that *Pharaoh* employed his Magicians to vie with *Moses* in working Miracles, in order to determine whether the Gods of *Egypt* were as powerful to protect him, as the God of *Israel* was to afflict him; for it was not the Custom of the Heathens to endeavour to support themselves by the Favour of one God against the express and known Demands of another; but their Belief was, that when the supreme Deity determined to afflict them, no other God could help them against his Determinations, and that every or any God had full Power to distress them, unless they took Care, when required, duly to make Atonement for any Trespasses or Commissions against him. *Rabshekah* (*k*) believed, that when he was come up against *Jerusalem, not without the Lord (non sine Numine Divûm, Virgil* would

(*k*) 2 Kings xviii.

have

have expreſſed it) that no God could be able to deliver the *Jews* out of his Hand: And thus *Homer* repreſents *Hector* delivered up to the Fury of *Achilles*: When *Jupiter* determined that he ſhould be killed, then *Phœbus* left him (*l*); no Deity any longer interpoſed in his Behalf: And *Virgil* gives up *Turnus* to *Æneas* in the ſame Manner (*m*). And as they thought no God able to deliver any Favourite from the Fate appointed by the ſupreme Deity; ſo we do not find Inſtances, which intimate, that when any God threatned to afflict them, that they thought they could ſupport themſelves againſt divine Vengeance, by ſeeking the more immediate Favour of ſome other God. When *Calchas* had informed the *Greeks*, that *Apollo* had ſent the Peſtilence among them, for neglecting his Prieſt and Favourite, the *Greeks* did not endeavour to fly to *Jupiter*, or to ſome other God, to be protected againſt *Apollo*'s Anger; but they immediately took the beſt Care they could to appeaſe *Apollo* (*n*). And thus, when the *Aſſyrians* thought the People, whom they had planted in *Samaria*, to have Lions ſent amongſt them by the God of the Country into which they had removed them, they did not think it ſufficient to endeavour to pro-

(*l*) Iliad. 22. (*m*) Æneid. 12. (*n*) Homer. Il. 1.

cure

cure them Protection againſt this ſtrange God, whoſe *Manner they did not know*, by ſetting up the Worſhip of their own Gods; but the King of *Aſſyria* thought fit to command, that they ſhould carry thither one of the Prieſts, whom they had brought from thence, that he might go and dwell there, and teach the People the Manner of the God of the Land (*o*). When *Cyrus* invaded *Aſſyria*, he made Libations, to render the Soil propitious to him; then he ſacrificed to the Gods and Heroes of the *Aſſyrian* Nation; then to *Jupiter Patrius*; and it is remarked, that if there appeared to him to be any other God, he took care not to neglect him (*p*). This was the Pagan Practice, and it could have been to no Purpoſe for *Pharaoh* to have employed his *Magicians* to try to work Miracles as *Moſes* did, if he had thought them aſſiſted by a divine Power in working them; for it had been no Detection of *Moſes*'s not being ſent from God, that when he had wrought a Miracle to confirm his Miſſion, a Perſon, who by the ſame, or a like divine Power, could work the ſame Miracle, had been oppoſed to him. This could not have proved either of the Perſons not to have wrought a true Miracle; for each of them muſt have known and confeſſed

(*o*) 2 Kings xvii. (*p*) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 3.

that

that they had either of them wrought a true Miracle by divine Aſſiſtance. It is no where ſuggeſted, that the Gods of *Egypt* commanded *Pharaoh* to keep the *Iſraelites*, nor can it be conceived that *Pharaoh* could deſire his Prieſts to try to work Miracles, to know whether this was their Will or no; for ſuppoſing him to think that *Moſes* had been able by the Power of one Deity to work a Miracle to demand their Diſmiſſion, it is impoſſible to think he or his People could be ſo abſurd as to imagine, that the Gods would work Miracles in Defiance of, and Oppoſition to one another. In this Caſe had he thought *Moſes* had wrought a true Miracle, he would have believed that ſome Deity had really ſent him, and tho' this Deity was not an *Egyptian* God, yet when convinced that he really was a God; like *Cyrus*, when he had appeaſed the ſeveral Gods he knew of, if he found that there was any other Deity, which he had hitherto been a Stranger to, he would not have neglected him: But *Pharaoh* doubted whether *Moſes* really wrought a Miracle or no: The Learned in *Egypt* thought, that Miracles, Prodigies, and Omens, were given by the *Planetary* and *Elementary* Influences, and that Students deeply verſed in the Myſteries of Nature, could cauſe them by Arts and Incantations. *Pharaoh* thought his *Magicians* to be great Maſters of theſe Arts, and that there-

therefore if they could perform what *Moſes* did, that then *Moſes* was only ſuch a one as they, and endeavoured to delude him, by artificial Wonders inſtead of real Miracles. And this is abundantly confirmed to be the Fact, by the Account which *Moſes* gave of the Magicians uſing their Inchantments, and of the Confeſſion extorted from them, when they could not ſucceed in the Uſe of them.

When the Magicians of *Egypt* endeavoured with their Inchantments to produce Lice, and could not do it, the Confeſſion which they made hereupon was, not that they were overpowered by the God of *Iſrael*; not that he aſſiſted his Servants beyond what their Gods did them; but [אצבע אלהים הוא] *Atsban Elohim Houa. This is the Finger of God* (*q*). The *Targum* of *Onkelos* renders it, *This Plague comes from God.* The *Arabick* Verſion expreſſes it, *A Sign of this Nature is of God.* So that this appears evidently to have been what *Pharaoh* endeavoured fully to convince himſelf of; Whether the Works which *Moſes* performed were *artificial*, or whether they were *the Finger of God*; and when the Magicians had anſwered him this Queſtion, we find that he made no further uſe of them: Whereas, had the Queſtion been, whether the God of

(*q*) Exodus viii. 19.

Iſrael

Iſrael or the Gods of *Egypt* were the moſt able to aſſiſt their Servants, *Pharaoh* might have doubted, whether the Want of Succeſs in the Experiment was not more owing to ſome Defect in the Magicians Inchantments, than in the Power of the Gods: He would have thought, that the Magicians had made improper Applications to obtain the Favour of the Gods, and that, according to the Notions which prevailed when *Balaam* was deſired to curſe the *Iſraelites* (*r*), tho' ſome Inchantments or Religious Arts of Addreſs might not obtain the divine Favour, yet others might (*ſ*); and the being diſappointed in one Trial, would rather have argued a Defect in the Prieſt or Magician's Attempts to make the Gods propitious, than want of Power in their Gods to aſſiſt them. But the Inquiry was evidently not of this Nature: All that *Pharaoh* wanted to be informed of was, whether *Moſes* was a Magician; or was really ſent by the God, which he ſpoke of, and he expected to be convinced of this, by examining whether his Wonders were ſuch as the Magicians by their Arts could perform or no.

There are ſeveral Queries which may be very juſtly made upon *Pharaoh*'s employing his Magicians to attempt to work

(*r*) Numbers xxiii. (*ſ*) xxiv. 1.

the

the Wonders which *Moſes* performed. It may be asked, Was there really any Knowledge of the Powers of Nature, or *Arcana* of Art, by which Magicians, without the miraculous Aſſiſtance of the Deity, could perform ſuch Operations as *Pharaoh* here employed his wiſe Men and Sorcerers to attempt? Did the *Egyptian* Magicians really perform thoſe Wonders, in which they are recorded to have imitated *Moſes*? How could *Pharaoh* think or imagine, that they could poſſibly perform them? or How could they themſelves be ſo weak as to attempt them? or How came they to have Succeſs in ſome Inſtances, wherein they tried and performed Wonders like what *Moſes* had done? But to all theſe Queries it is not difficult to find a juſt and ſufficient Anſwer.

I. Was there really any Knowledge of the Powers of Nature, or any Secrets of Art, by which Magicians might be able to do ſuch Wonders as *Moſes* performed before *Pharaoh*, without their having an extraordinary and divine Aſſiſtance? It is eaſy to return an Anſwer to this Queſtion. The Knowledge of natural Cauſes and Effects is ſo clear in this Age, by the Light which has been introduced by Experiment and Philoſophy, that we may poſitively ſay, that no Effects like what theſe Men pretended to accompliſh by Sorcery and Inchantment, can be artificially produced by

by any or all the Powers of Nature. No Art, no Study of occult Sciences, can enable a Man really to change a Rod or Stick of Wood into a living Serpent: There are no Inchantments ſufficient to enable us to make a living Frog, or to ſtrike our Neighbour with a Diſeaſe or Boil, or to inflict any Vengeance of this ſort upon him. There never were the Inſtances which are pretended to, of Things of this Nature effected by Arts of this ſort. How the Magicians of *Egypt* performed their Wonders before *Pharaoh*, ſhall be by and by mentioned; and in the ſame Manner in which we account for them, we may account for all other wonderful and ſupernatural Works, repreſented to have been effected by any Heathen Magicians in the ſacred Pages. As to many Accounts of ſuch Facts which are mentioned in prophane Hiſtorians, we may venture to aſſert, that they were never really done as they repreſent them, but that they are generally ſome of the Scripture Miracles falſely reported, or attributed to Perſons who were never concerned in them, or Accounts of Facts which were never done at all. *Julian*, the Son of *Theurgus*, is ſaid to have cauſed the Heaven to be black with Clouds, and a vaſt Shower to fall, with terrible Thunders and Lightning, σοφίᾳ τινὶ, by ſome magick Art, but others think that *Arnuphis* the *Egyptian* Philoſopher performed this Mi-

racle *(t)*: Such as this are the Relations of the Heathen Wonders; no Certainty of the Performer of them, and nothing but a vague and undetermined Conjecture how they could be performed. This Fact may as well be aſcribed to *Arnuphis* as to *Julian*, and was certainly true of neither; being probably the Account of *Elijah*'s obtaining Rain in the Time of (*u*) *Ahab*, falſely aſcribed to one or other of theſe Heathens, in order to raiſe the Credit of the Heathen Learning. But it will be asked,

II. Did the *Egyptian* Magicians really perform thoſe Wonders which are aſcribed to them? Some learned Writers have imagined, that there was not any real Tranſmutation, when the Rods of the *Egyptian* Magicians were pretended to be turned into Serpents (*w*); and that they did not really turn Water into Blood (*x*), or produce Frogs *(y)*, or exhibit any real Miracle in their Oppoſition to *Moſes*; but that they either played their Parts as Jugglers, pretending to do what they really did not do; or that ſome *Dæmons* aſſiſted them, and by their Power over the Air, enabled them to deceive the Sight of the Beholders, and to cauſe *Phantoms*, or deluſive Appearances of what was really not done,

(*t*) Suidas in Voc. Ἰωλιανός. (*u*) 1 Kings xviii.
(*w*) Exodus vii. (*x*) Ver 22. (*y*) Chap. viii. 7.

tho'

tho' it ſeemed to be performed in the Sight of *Pharaoh*, and thoſe who were preſent with him. Many of the Fathers of the Chriſtian Church are cited as Abetters of this Opinion (*w*), and *Joſephus* is ſaid to favour it (*x*); but certainly we have little Reaſon to admit it. As to the Magicians impoſing upon *Pharaoh* by Artifice and Pretence, I cannot ſee how they could poſſibly do it, without giving *Moſes* and *Aaron* an Opportunity of detecting the Cheat, and expoſing them to *Pharaoh*, and his People. *Elijah* found it no great Difficulty to detect the falſe Pretences of the Prieſts of *Baal*, when they pretended by Prayer to bring Fire from Heaven, but could not really obtain it (*y*). In the ſame Manner *Moſes* would, without doubt, have brought the Artifices of the *Egyptian* Magicians to a Trial, which would have detected the Cheat, if the Wonders, which they pretended to perform, had been only pretended, and not really performed by them. And as to their being able to exhibit Appearances of Serpents, Frogs, and Blood, when no ſuch Things really were in Being, but only appeared to be, by the Air being ſo directed by the Agency of Beings which had Power over it, as to affect *Pharaoh* and his Subjects in ſuch a

(*w*) *See* Pool's Synopſ. Crit. in loc. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. (*x*) Joſeph. Antiq. (*y*) 1 Kings xviii.

manner, as to cauſe them to think they ſaw the *Magicians* Rods turned into Serpents, Frogs produced, and Water converted into Blood, when none of theſe Things were really done: To this I anſwer, that to argue in this manner, is indeed to be unwilling to allow the *Egyptian* Magicians to be able to perform a true Miracle, and yet at the ſame time it ſuppoſes them to have performed Wonders, of which we can give as little Account as of a Miracle. Let any one try to give a ſatisfactory Account, how any Magician could, by a Power over the Air, either by himſelf, or by the Aſſiſtance of a *Dæmon*, repreſent to the naked View of the Beholders, in Oppoſition to a true Miracle, Serpents, Frogs, and Water converted into Blood; nay, and ſo repreſent them, as that the fictitious Appearances ſhould not be diſtinguiſhable from the real, but ſhould bear to be ſeen with them at one and the ſame Time, in the ſame Light, in the ſame View (for ſo the Rods of the Magicians turned into Serpents certainly were, when *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallowed up their Rods) (*z*); I ſay, let any one try to give a reaſonable Account of this Fancy, and he will quickly ſee, that he may more reaſonably ſuppoſe the Magicians able to perform a

(*z*) Exodus vii. 12.

true

true and real Tranſmutation, than to aſcribe to them ſuch imaginary Powers as this Suppoſition requires; and which, if they could be conceived, can tend only to deſtroy the Certainty of all Appearances whatever. The Account which *Moſes* gave of the Miracles performed by himſelf and *Aaron*, and of what the Magicians performed by their Inchantments, does not hint any Difference as to the Reality of the Performances of either of them; and undoubtedly the Rods of the Magicians were truly and really turned to Serpents, as well as the Rod of *Aaron*, and were truly and really ſwallowed up by *Aaron*'s Rod. The Frogs which the Magicians produced, were true real living Frogs, as well as thoſe produced by *Moſes*; and the Magicians certainly turned Water into Blood, truly and really as *Moſes* himſelf did. There can be nothing offered from the Sacred Hiſtory, to ſuppoſe the one Appearances more real than the other; and if a Believer of Revelation will argue the Magicians Performances to be only *Phantaſms*, or Deceptions of the Sight of the Beholders; why may not an Unbeliever with equal Aſſurance argue, all that *Moſes* did to be of the ſame ſort? Nothing but the moſt extravagant *Scepticiſm* can be built upon ſo wild a Suppoſition. But,

III. If there were no ſecret Arts, no occult Sciences, by the Study of which the *Egyptian* Magicians might think themſelves able to perform theſe Wonders; how could *Pharaoh* imagine, that his Magicians could perform them, or how could they themſelves be ſo weak, or ſo vain, as to attempt them? I anſwer. We read of no Miracles of this ſort ever performed in the World before this Time. God had diſcovered his Will to Mankind by Revelation in all Ages. In the firſt and moſt early Times by Voices or Dreams: From *Abraham*'s Time the Lord appeared frequently to his Servants. But no ſuch Wonders as were done in *Egypt*, in the Sight of *Pharaoh*, are recorded to have ever been performed in the World before, ſo that they were a new Thing, undoubtedly ſurprizing to all that ſaw them. And accordingly we find, that *Moſes*, when he ſaw the Buſh on Fire, and not conſumed, was amazed, and turned aſide to ſee *this great Sight, why the Buſh was not burnt* (*a*): And when God turned his Rod into a Serpent, *Moſes* was terrified, and fled from it (*b*). God had not as yet enabled any Perſon to work Wonders as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did in *Egypt*; and therefore *Pharaoh*, upon ſeeing theſe Things performed,

(*a*) Exodus iii. 3. (*b*) iv. 3.

might

might well inquire whether his Magicians could do ſuch Things as theſe; and the Magicians might without Abſurdity try whether they could or no. God had before this Time frequently revealed himſelf to his Servants by Dreams, by Voices, by ſending Angels, or by appearing to them. And the World in general was in theſe Days full of Belief of the Truth of ſuch Revelations, until, as human Learning encreaſed, the conceit of *Science falſely ſo called* ſeduced the Learned to think themſelves able, by Philoſophy and Speculation, to delineate a Religion of Nature ſufficient to render Revelation unneceſſary and ſuperfluous. The *Egyptians* began early, and had proceeded far in this falſe way of Thinking: Inſtead of one God, and one Lord, whom *Abraham* and his Deſcendants worſhipped, they corrupted their Faith very near as early as *Abraham*'s Days *(f)*; and admitted, that there was indeed a ſupreme Deity, preſiding over the Univerſe (for this I think the Heathens never really denied, tho' the Groſsneſs of *Polytheiſm*, which Time introduced, greatly obſcured their Knowledge of even this Truth) but they imagined they had Reaſon to think, that the Planets and Elements

(*f*) *See* Vol. I. B. 5. Vol. II. B. 7.

were Gods alſo (*g*), and governed the World by their Influence, tho' ſubject to the Fate (*h*), Will or Direction of the ſupreme God. And as to what was generally believed of Dreams, Viſions, and Revelations, which had been made to Men, the Learned in theſe Times thought as freely about them, as our modern Queriſts. The Belief of them was of Service to the Legiſlators, who knew how to make them a State-Engine to govern their People by (*i*); but they thought themſelves wiſe enough to know, that they were occaſioned *ſine Deo*, in a natural Way, by the Planetary and Elementary Influences; and that they were made a Part of their Religion, only for the Utility of their popular Influence (*k*), and for Reaſons of State,

(*g*) Mundum —— habere mentem, quæ & ſe, & ipſum fabricatum ſit, & omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit perſuaſum etiam Solem, Lunam, Stellas omnes, Terram, Mare Deos eſſe— Cic. (*h*) Τί κωλύσει τῆς τῦ Διὸς ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ ὑπηκόους πάντας εἶναι. Plut. L. de defect. Orac. p. 426. Fatum eſt non id quod ſuperſtitioſè ſed quod Phyſicè dicitur Cauſa æterna Rerum. *Cic.* Deum Neceſſitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter poſſit atque ab eo conſtitutum ſit. (*i*) Ὀνείρατα καὶ φάσματα, καὶ τοιῦτον ἄλλον ὄγκον περισάμενοι —— ὁ πολιτικοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι, καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὄχλον ἡνιοχασμένοις ζῆν, ἐκ ἄχρηστον ἴσως ὄφις ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐκ χαλινῦ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀνίσασαί καὶ μετασῆσαι τῦς πολλῦς —— Plut. L. de Socratis Genio. p. 580.

(*k*) Non enim ſumus ii nos Augures, qui Avium, reliquorumve ſignorum Obſervatione futura dicamus: —— errabat enim multis in Rebus Antiquitas, quam vel uſu jam vel doctrinâ vel Vetuſtate

State, for the Government of Kingdoms (*l*). Hitherto the *Egyptians* had proceeded; and had *Moſes* come to them, and could only have aſſured them, that he had received a Command from God in a Dream, or by a Viſion, or by a Voice, or any other Revelation, neither *Pharaoh*, nor his Wiſe Men, would have regarded him at all, but have concluded, that ſome natural Prodigy had happened; for ſuch they would moſt probably have imagined the Buſh on Fire to be, and have ſuppoſed that *Moſes* had made a political uſe of it; and for this Reaſon *Pharaoh* bad him *ſhew a Miracle*; knowing, that if the Deity really ſent him, he could give this Proof of it. Hereupon God enabled *Moſes* to work ſeveral very extraordinary Signs and Wonders, ſuch as had never been ſeen or heard of in the World before: Upon ſeeing which, *Pharaoh* very naturally conſulted his *Magi*, and they tried all the myſtical Operations, and examined all the Schemes, which their Syſtems of Science furniſhed, to ſee whether theſe Things could be done or accounted for by any natural Influences, or human

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tuſtate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem & ad opinionem Vulgi, & ad magnas utilitates Reipublicæ Mos, Religio, Diſciplina, Jus Augurum, Collegii Authoritas. *Cicer. de Divinat.* l. 2. c. 33.

(*l*) Exiſtimo Jus Augurum, etſi Divinationis Opinione Principio conſtitutum ſit, tamen poſtea Reipublicæ Causâ conſervatum ac retentum. *Cic. de Divinat.* l. 2. c. 35.

Learning;

Learning; and after ſeveral Trials acknowledged that they could not, but that they were the Effect of an omnipotent Hand, *the Finger of God (m)*. But

IV. If the *Egyptian* Magicians had no myſtical Arts, by the Uſe of which they could really turn their Rods into Serpents, produce Frogs, and change Water into Blood; how came they to ſucceed in theſe Attempts which they made in Oppoſition to *Moſes?* We have no Reaſon to think that the King knew the Works which he employed his Magicians to try to perform, to be within the Reach of any Art they were Maſters of, becauſe he ordered them to try to perform them; rather on the contrary, He ordered them to try to perform them, that he might know whether Art could effect them or no, or whether they were indeed true Miracles. Kings were wont in all extraordinary Caſes, where any thing happened which was thought ominous or ſurprizing, to ſend for their Prieſts and learned Profeſſors, and to order them to anſwer the Difficulties that perplexed them. And tho' much was pretended to, yet they had not yet advanced ſo far in the true Knowledge of Nature, but that Kings ſometimes thought they might require of their *Magi* Things

(m) Exodus viii. 19.

impoſſible.

impoſſible. We have an Inſtance of this in the Book of *Daniel* (*n*). *Nebuchadnezzar* dreamed a Dream and forgot it; and required his *Magi*, not only to tell him the Meaning of his Dream, but to find out what his Dream was; and tho' the *Chaldeans* anſwered him, that *no Man upon Earth could do it*, and that *no King, Lord or Ruler had ever asked ſuch a Thing of any Magician, Aſtrologer or Chaldean*; yet the King was ſo reſolutely ſet upon compelling them to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, that he *reſolved*, and *commanded to deſtroy all the* Magi, or *Wiſe Men of Babylon*. In theſe Caſes, the *Magi* might try all poſſible Experiments, tho' they had no Reaſon to hope for Succeſs from them. 2. It does not appear from the Magicians here trying their Experiments, and ſucceeding in them, that they thought at firſt that their Arts would be effectual, and that they ſhould be able to perform ſuch Works as *Moſes* and *Aaron* had done. The Prieſts of *Baal*, in the Time of *Elijah* (*o*), had no Reaſon to think, that the Invocations of their God, or the cutting themſelves with Knives and Lancers, would produce the Fire from Heaven to conſume their Sacrifice; but yet they tried all the Artifices they could think of from Morning

(*n*) Daniel ii. (*o*) 1 Kings xviii.

until

until Evening. So here the *Egyptians* had no Reaſon to think their Incantations would produce Serpents; but they would try all Experiments, in order to judge further of the Matter; and upon their attempting, God was pleaſed in ſome Caſes to give an unexpected Succeſs to their Endeavours, in order to ſerve and carry on his own Purpoſes and Deſigns by it. For, 3. The Succeſs they had was certainly unexpected, as evidently appears by their not being able to follow *Moſes* in all his Miracles. They produced Serpents and Frogs, and converted Water into Blood, but when they attempted to produce the Lice, they could not do it. It is here evident, that the Magicians did not know the Extent of their Powers, if they can be conceived to have had any; for they attempted to equal *Moſes* in all his Performances, but upon Trial they found they could do ſome, but in others, tho' not a whit more difficult, they could not obtain any Succeſs at all. Had they had any effectual Rules of Art or Science to work by, they would at firſt, without Trial, have known what to attempt, and what not; but in Truth, they had no Arts to perform any thing of this ſort. In ſome Inſtances, God was pleaſed to give a Succeſs which they little expected to their Endeavours, and which they were ſo far from reſting ſatisfied with, that they took the firſt Opportunity that was

was given them, when their Attempts failed, to acknowledge that *Moſes* was certainly aſſiſted by the divine Power.

Moſes and *Aaron* went the third time to *Pharaoh*, and urged again the Demand they had made for his diſmiſſing the *Iſraelites*; and as a further Sign, that God had really ſent them, upon *Aaron*'s ſtretching out his Hand, and touching the Waters of the River with his Rod, all the Waters in the Land of *Egypt* were turned into Blood, and continued ſo for ſeven Days, ſo that the Fiſh died, and the *Egyptians* could get no Water to drink *(s)*; but *Pharaoh* finding that his Magicians

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(s) Exodus vii. 15—25. Pharaoh *is here mentioned to go down in the Morning to the River. It is probable, that the* Egyptians *accounted it a neceſſary Part of Religion to purify themſelves every Morning, by waſhing in the River.* Virgil *repreſents* Æneas *as thinking ſuch a Purification neceſſary, before he might touch the* Trojan ſacra, *having polluted himſelf in Battel; He ſays to his Father* Anchiſes,

> Tu, Genitor, cape ſacra manu, patrioſque Penates;
> Me, bello e tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti,
> Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
> Abluero. *Virgil. Æn. 2. v. 717.*

but the Egyptians *uſed theſe Purifications twice every Day, ſays* Herodotus, δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης, καὶ δὶς ἑκάστης νυκτὸς. Lib. 2. c. 37. Chæremon, *ſays thrice every Day* [ἀπελούετο ψυχρῷ ἀπό τε κοίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀείσεως, καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον· ap. Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχ. l. 4. § 7.] *when they came from Bed in the Morning, juſt before Dinner, and at Night when they went to ſleep.* Moſes *was here directed to go to* Pharaoh *in the Morning, at his going out to the Water; ſo that* Pharaoh *was here going to perform the Morning Purification.*

could

could turn Water into Blood, was not convinced by this Miracle, and ſo refuſed to part with the *Iſraelites*.

Some time after *Moſes* and *Aaron* came again to him, requiring the Diſmiſſion of the People, and withal aſſuring him, that if he did not grant it, they ſhould bring a great Plague of Frogs upon all the Land; and in order hereto, *Moſes* directed *Aaron* to ſtretch his Rod again over the Waters, upon doing which there came up abundance of Frogs, ſo as to *cover the Land of Egypt*, and to ſwarm in the Houſes, Bedchambers, upon the Beds, in the Ovens, and kneading Troughs of the *Egyptians* (*t*); but here it alſo happened that the Magicians alſo produced Frogs, ſo that *Pharaoh* was not much influenced by this Miracle (*u*).

There were ſeveral other Miracles wrought by *Moſes* and *Aaron* in *Egypt* after the ſame manner. The Swarms of Lice (*w*); the Murrain upon the *Egyptian* Cattle (*x*); the Plague of the Flies (*xx*); the Boils inflicted upon not only the *Egyptian* People, but upon the Magicians alſo (*y*); the terrible Rain and Hail and Fire mingled with Hail (*z*); the Plague of the Locuſts (*a*), and the (*aa*) Darkneſs for three Days; all

(*t*) Exodus viii. 3--6. (*u*) Ver. 7. (*w*) Ver. 16.
(*x*) ix. 3, 7. (*xx*) viii. 21. (*y*) ix. 9--12. (*z*) Ver. 18.
(*a*) x. 4. (*aa*) Ver. 21.

theſe

theſe Things being cauſed at the Word of *Moſes*, exceedingly perplexed the King. He found that all the Powers, Art, and Learning of his Magicians could not perform theſe Miracles; nay, upon attempting one of them, they themſelves confeſſed to him, that it was done by the Finger of God (*b*); and in the Plague of the Boils, the Magicians themſelves were afflicted (*bb*), and *could not ſtand before Moſes, becauſe of the Boil; for the Boil was upon the Magicians, and all the Egyptians.* The King's Heart was ſeveral times almoſt overcome: He offered the *Iſraelites* leave to ſacrifice to the Lord their God, provided they would do it in *Egypt*; (*c*) but to this *Moſes* anſwered, that their Religion was ſo different from the *Egyptian*, that were they to perform the Offices of it in *Egypt*, the People would be ſo offended as to riſe againſt them and ſtone them (*d*). Afterwards *Pharaoh* would have permitted them to go out of *Egypt*, provided the adult Perſons only would go, and that they would leave their Children behind them as Pledges of their Return (*e*); but upon *Moſes*'s inſiſting to have the People go, *with their young and with their old, with their Sons and with their Daughters, with their Flocks and with their Herds*; *Pharaoh* was incenſed

(*b*) Exodus viii. 19. (*bb*) ix. 11. (*c*) viii. 25.
(*d*) Ver. 26. (*e*) x. 11.

againſt

againſt him, and having ſeverely threatned him, ordered him to be turned out of his Preſence (*f*). Afterwards, *Pharaoh* was willing that all the People ſhould go, only that they ſhould let their Flocks and their Herds be ſtayed (*g*); very probably knowing, that they could not go far without Suſtenance, and that if they left all their Flocks and their Herds, they muſt ſoon return again; for what Nation would receive or maintain with their own Product and Proviſions ſo numerous a People? or how or where could they ſubſiſt, if their Flocks and Herds were left behind them? So that the Leave of departing, which *Pharaoh* offered, would ſoon have been of no Service; and therefore *Moſes* rejected it, and required that their *Cattle alſo ſhould go with them*, and *not an Hoof be left behind* (*h*): But upon *Moſes*'s requiring this, *Pharaoh* grew exceeding angry, and charged him to get him away, and never to attempt to ſee him more; for that if he did, he would certainly put him to Death (*i*).

Thus was this unhappy Prince, by the Obſtinacy of his Heart carried on, thro' many great Misfortunes to himſelf and People, at length to his Ruin. He had all along ſufficient Means of Conviction.

(*f*) Exodus x. 11. (*g*) Ver. 24. (*h*) Ver. 25. (*i*) Ver. 28.

When

When his Magicians Rods were turned into Serpents, and *Aaron*'s Rod ſwallowed up their Rods, how would a Circumſtance, far leſs remarkable and extraordinary, have moved him, if what *Moſes* required had not been diſagreeable to him? In ſeveral of the Plagues, that were inflicted upon him and his People, *Pharaoh* was compelled to make Application to *Moſes*, to intreat the Lord his God to remove the Evil *(k)*; and in others, the King himſelf was nice and exact in inquiring, whether the *Iſraelites* did ſuffer in them with his People or no; and found, upon Examination, that God had diſtinguiſhed the *Iſraelites* from the *Egyptians*, and that they were not partakers in *(ll)* the remarkable Calamities inflicted upon the Land. I might add the particular Confeſſion of the Magicians, that *Moſes*'s Works were *the Finger of God (l)*; and obſerve how the Magicians themſelves ſuffered in the Plague of the Boils; and how *Moſes* was able, at any Time or Hour, to obtain from God a Removal of the Plagues, upon *Pharaoh*'s Addreſs for it. How could the King, if he attended at all to theſe Circumſtances, not be intirely convinced by them? and yet I do not ſee that we have any Reaſon to think that He fully believed that

(*k*) Exodus viii. 8, 29. ix. 28. & x. 17. (*ll*) viii. 21. ix. 7, 26. & x. 23. (*l*) viii. 19.

Moſes was really and truly ſent from God to him upon the Meſſage which he had delivered. There were many of the Servants of *Pharaoh*, that regarded not the Word of the Lord, but left their Servants and Cattel in the Field, when *Moſes* had threatned the Rain and Fire, and Hail to deſtroy them *(m)*. Undoubtedly, after all that had been done before this, theſe Men did not believe, that any ſuch Storm would happen; and after this, and after the inflicting another Plague, the *Egyptians* only thought *Moſes* to be *a Snare* to them *(n)*; a Snare which *Pharaoh* ſeemed to think he might perhaps free his People from, if He put him to Death *(o)*. All the Effect which *Moſes*'s Miracles ſeem to have had was, not that the Power of God was at laſt revered, or acknowledged by *Pharaoh* or his People; but *the Man Moſes was very great in the Land of Egypt, in the Sight of Pharaoh's Servants, and in the Sight of the People (p)*; they admired the Man as far Superior to their own Magicians; but what he had done had no true Influence for the End for which it was intended. For we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that when *Pharaoh*, and his Army purſued the *Iſraelites* to the red Sea, tho' they were terribly ſtruck at firſt at the Death of

(*m*) Exodus ix. 21. (*n*) x. 7. (*o*) Ver. 28.
(*p*) Exodus xi. 3.

their

their Firſt-born, and therefore had diſmiſſed them; yet when they came to conſider more at Leiſure what they had done, it is probable they believed at laſt, that they had been impoſed upon more by the Art of *Moſes*, than any true and real Power of God, exerted for the Deliverance of his People, and for that Reaſon they went after them to retake them, or to revenge themſelves upon them. I am ſenſible it may be asked, How could Men of common Senſe and Underſtanding be ſo wonderfully abſurd? But I anſwer; Senſe and Underſtanding are not the only Requiſites to make Men judge rightly of even clear and very evident Truths. The inſpired Writer moſt juſtly adviſes, to *take heed of an evil Heart of Unbelief* (*q*); *Out of* the Heart *are the Iſſues of Life* (*r*). Our Paſſions and Affections have a very powerful Influence over us; and where they are not carefully managed and governed, it is amazing to ſee how the ſlighteſt Evaſions will paſs for moſt weighty and concluſive Arguments; and how the brighteſt and moſt apparent Evidences of Truths, will be thought to be of little Moment even to Perſons of the greateſt Senſe and Sagacity in other Matters, where their Intereſt or their Humours do not contradict the

(*q*) Hebrews iii. 12. (*r*) Proverbs iv. 23.

Truths which are offered to them. *Pharaoh*'s Fault was in his Heart; and that made him unfortunate in the Uſe of his Underſtanding. The *Iſraelites* were numerous and ſerviceable Slaves, and it was a terrible Shock and Diminution to his Wealth and Grandeur to diſmiſs them; and not being able to reconcile his Inclinations to the Thoughts of parting with them, the vague and ill-grounded Learning of the Times he lived in, was thought to afford Arguments ſufficient to take off the Force of all the Miracles, that were offered to induce him to it. It is no very hard matter to judge of Truth, if we are but ſincerely diſpoſed to embrace it; *If any Man will do* God's *Will, He* will *know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God* (*s*). A common Capacity, and an ordinary Share of Underſtanding, will afford Light enough, if evil Paſſions do not make *the Light that is in us* to become *Darkneſs*; but if our Heart is not duly diſpoſed to embrace the Truth, *neither may we be perſwaded*, by the greateſt Arguments and Demonſtrations that can be offered for it, even tho' we have uncommon Abilities to judge of, and underſtand the Force of what is repreſented to us.

(*s*) John vii. 17.

Some

Some Writers have imagined, that the Incompliance of *Pharaoh*, was an effect of Temper produced in him by God himſelf. They endeavour to ſupport their Opinion by the many Expreſſions of *Moſes*, that God hardened *Pharaoh*'s Heart *(t)*; and by St. *Paul*'s ſeeming to repreſent, from what is recorded by *Moſes*, that God raiſed up *Pharaoh* on purpoſe to make him a terrible Example of his Power and Vengeance to the whole World *(u)*. But, 1. God is ſaid in Scripture to do many Things, which are permitted by him to come to paſs in the ordinary and common Courſe of Things; according to which manner of Expreſſion, God may be ſaid *to harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, only becauſe he did not interpoſe, but ſuffered him to be carried on by the bent of his own Paſſions to that inflexible Obſtinacy which proved his Ruin. And in this Senſe, perhaps, we may interpret the Words of St. *Paul (w)*, *Therefore hath He Mercy on whom He will have Mercy, and whom He will he hardeneth.* God had not ſo much Mercy upon *Pharaoh* as to prevent his being hardened; and therefore in this Senſe is ſaid to have hardened him. 2. It is plain, that *Moſes*, unto whom God uſed theſe Expreſſions about *Pharaoh*, under-

(*t*) Exodus iv. 21. vii. 3. ix. 12. x. 1. 20. 27. xi. 10. &c. (*u*) Rom. ix. 17. (*w*) Ver. 18.

ſtood them in this Senſe, from many Parts of his Behaviour to him; and eſpecially from his earneſtly intreating him to be perſuaded, and to let the People go. If *Moſes* had known, or thought, that God had doom'd *Pharaoh* to unavoidable Ruin, what Room or Opportunity could there be for to endeavour to perſwade him to avoid it? But that *Moſes* attempted, with all poſſible Application, to make an Impreſſion upon *Pharaoh* for his Good, is very evident from the following Paſſage, which if rightly tranſlated would be very clear and expreſſive. *And Moſes ſaid unto Pharaoh, Glory over me, when ſhall I intreat for thee and for thy Servants —?* (*x*) The tranſlating the *Hebrew* Words *hithpaar gnalai, glory over me*, makes the Senſe of the Place very obſcure; the true rendring the Words would be, *Do me Glory or Honour, i. e.* believe me, which will be to my Honour in the Sight of the People; and the whole of what paſſed between *Pharaoh* and *Moſes* at this Time, if rightly tranſlated, is to this Purpoſe. " Then *Pharaoh* called for *Moſes* and " *Aaron*, and ſaid: Intreat the LORD, " that He may take away the Frogs from " me ——, and I will let the People go, " that they may do Sacrifice unto the

(*x*) Exodus viii. 9.

" LORD.

" LORD. And *Moſes* ſaid, do me the " Honour to believe me, when I ſhall in- " treat for thee, and for thy Servants.— " And *Pharaoh* ſaid, to-morrow I will. " And *Moſes* ſaid, Be it according to thy " Word *(y)*. *Moſes* here made a very earneſt Addreſs to *Pharaoh*, to induce him to be perſuaded to part with the People, which he certainly would not have done, if he had thought that *Pharaoh* could no ways avoid not being perſuaded, but that God himſelf prevented his Compliance, on purpoſe to bring him to Ruin. But I might obſerve, that *Moſes* frequently expreſſes it, that *Pharaoh* hardened his own Heart (*z*), and not that God hardened it; ſo that the two Expreſſions, God hardened *Pharaoh*'s Heart, and *Pharaoh* hardened his own Heart, are *Synonymous*, and mean the one no more than the other; unleſs perhaps it may be ſaid, that as it is agreeable to the *Hebrew Idiom*, to call very high Hills, *the Hills of God* (*a*), or very flouriſhing Trees, *the Trees of the Lord* (*b*); ſo in the ſame manner of ſpeaking, it might be ſaid, that *the Lord hardened* Pharaoh's *Heart*, to expreſs, that it was exceedingly, and beyond Meaſure obdurate. 3. The Expreſſion cited by St. *Paul* from *Moſes*, *For this Cauſe have I raiſed thee*

(*y*) Exodus viii. 8, 9, 10. (*x*) vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. & ix. 7, 34. (*a*) Pſalm lxviii. 15. (*b*) Pſalm civ. 16.

up, that I might ſhew my Power in thee— does not ſupport the Senſe, which theſe Expoſitors would put upon it. The *Hebrew* Word *Hegnemadtika*, does not ſignify *I have raiſed thee up*, or brought thee into Being, but, *I have made thee to ſtand or continue:* The LXX tranſlate the Place very juſtly, ἕνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης· *For this Cauſe Thou haſt been preſerved* (*c*); For the Words of *Moſes* were not deſigned to expreſs to *Pharaoh*, that he was born or created on purpoſe to be brought to Ruin; but the Reaſon for ſaying the Words, and the true Meaning of them is this: *Moſes* had wrought ſeveral Miracles before *Pharaoh*, but they had had no Effect upon him. Hereupon *Moſes* delivered to him a ſeverer Meſſage, threatning, that God would ſend all his Plagues upon his Heart, and upon his Servants, and upon his People, to ſmite him with Peſtilence, and to cut him off from the Earth; and indeed [continues He, ſpeaking ſtill in the Name of God] for this Cauſe have I preſerved thee hitherto, to ſhew in thee my Power; *i. e.* I had cut thee off ſooner for thy Obſtinacy, but that I intended to make my Power over thee more conſpicuous;

(*c*) *Moſt of the Verſions expreſs the true meaning of this Place better than our* Engliſh *Tranſlation.* Onkelos *renders it*; Verum propter hoc ſuſtinui te. *The* Arabic *expreſſes it*; Propter rem hanc te reſervavi.

ſo

ſo that the Words only ſignify, that *Pharoah* was hitherto preſerved by the Forbearance of God, to be a more remarkable Example; not that He was born to be brought to Ruin.

Moſes, by Command from God, went once more to *Pharaoh*. The King had charged him never to ſee his Face more, upon Pain of Death (*d*); and *Moſes* had purpoſed to have ſo much Regard to his own Safety, as never to attempt it (*e*); but upon God's ſpecially commanding him to go, He was not afraid; knowing, that He that ſent him could abundantly protect him. *Moſes* now delivered to *Pharaoh*, the ſevereſt Meſſage He had ever brought him; and repreſented to him, that at (*f*) Midnight God would ſtrike dead the firſt-born of every Family throughout all the Land of *Egypt*; and that there ſhould hereupon be ſuch a Dread and Terror upon all the *Egyptians*, that they ſhould come to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and beg of him to lead the People out of the Land; and after that, ſaid he, I ſhall go. *Pharaoh* was in a great Rage at *Moſes* ſpeaking thus to him; but *Moſes* not deſiring to ſtay only to incenſe and provoke him, turned away and left him.

(*d*) Exodus x. 28. (*e*) Ver. 29. (*f*) *This Meſſage was delivered to* Pharaoh, *after the* Iſraelites *had made Preparations for eating the Paſſover, ſome time in the Day before they left* Egypt.

It

It is ſurprizing, that not only our *Engliſh*, but all the Verſions, repreſent *Moſes* to be the Perſon here ſaid to be in a great Anger. The Vulgar *Latin* is very faulty; we there find the Place rendred, *Exivit a Pharaone iratus nimis:* "He "went out from *Pharaoh* too much an-"gry *(g)*. All the other *Verſions* repreſent him as exceedingly incenſed againſt the King; but how can we ſuppoſe this of *Moſes*, who *was very meek, above all the Men, which were upon the Face of the Earth?* Beſides that, it is hard to imagine he ſhould carry himſelf ſo void of that Regard and Reſpect, which he could not but think it his Duty to pay, in his Behaviour to the King of *Egypt* in his own Kingdom. Some of the Commentators inſinuate, that *Moſes* was thus exceeding angry, and incenſed againſt *Pharaoh*, becauſe *He was made a God unto Pharaoh (h.)* But how abſurd muſt it be to imagine, that

(*g*) *The* Critics *imagine the* Latin *Word* nimis *to be Synonymous to* valdè, *and to ſignifie* very much *or* exceedingly; *but I ſhould think, that where it ſeems to be thus uſed, it always implies ſome Exceſs: thus*; Non nimis me delectârunt Litteræ illius. *Cic.* His Letters delighted me not very much. *I ſhould tranſlate it* not over much. Fundam tibi nunc nimis vellem dari. *Ter.* I would very fain that you had a Sling. *I think it might be tranſlated,* I am over-earneſt in wiſhing you a Sling; *i.e.* more earneſt than I need to be. *For it was the Flatterer's exceſs of Care that wiſhed the Soldier this Inſtrument; and by the Word* nimis, *he ſeems nicely to hint that his Valour did not need it. See* Eunuch. Act. 4. Scen. 7. (*h*) Exodus vii. 1.

Moſes

Moſes ſhould receive any Character from the Deity, that would juſtifie him in Rudeneſs and Misbehaviour to a Ruler of a Kingdom? Certainly it was not *Moſes* here, but *Pharaoh* who was in the Paſſion. *Moſes* undoubtedly delivered his Meſſage with all the Weight and Authority which the divine Commiſſion he had received required; and yet at the ſame time behaved himſelf with all the Regard and Reſpect that was due unto the King; and when he had delivered what he had to ſay, *Ietzea menim Pharaoh bechari Aph:* The Words, *bechari Aph, in a Fury of Anger*, belong to *Pharaoh*, and not to *Moſes*; and the Place ought to be tranſlated, *He went out from Pharaoh who was in a furious Anger.*

God had before this inſtructed *Moſes* and *Aaron*, to direct the People to prepare the Paſſover (*i*), the getting all things ready for which took up near four Days; for they were to begin on the tenth (*k*) Day of the Month *Abib*, and to kill the

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(*i*) *The* 1*ſt* Verſe *of* Chap. xii. *does not imply that the Lord ſpake to* Moſes *about the Paſſover after he came from* Pharaoh, *for theſe Directions were given before he went; for he went to* Pharaoh *the Day on which he told him, that at Midnight God would ſlay the Firſt-born, namely on the fourteenth of the Month* Abib, *but theſe Directions were given before the tenth Day: For on that Day they began to prepare for the Paſſover. So that the former Part of this Chapter, is an Account of ſome Particulars that had paſſed, but were not related hiſtorically in their Place.* (*k*) Exodus xii. 3.

Lamb

Lamb on the fourteenth Day in the Evening (*l*); and accordingly on the fourteenth of *Abib* in the Night (*m*) the *Iſraelites* eat the firſt Paſſover, and at Midnight they heard a great Cry and Confuſion amongſt the *Egyptians*; for *Pharaoh* and his Princes, and his People, found that there was one Perſon dead, and that the Firſt-born, without any Exception or Difference in any one Family, in every Houſe of the *Egyptians*. They came immediately to *Moſes* and *Aaron* in a great Fright and Terror, and deſired them to get the People together, and to take their Flocks and their Herds, and all that belonged to them, and be gone; *and the* Egyptians *were urgent upon the People, that they might ſend them out of the Land in haſte, for they ſaid, We be all dead Men* (*n*). Hereupon *Moſes* took the Bones of *Joſeph*, which his Brethren had ſworn to him ſhould be carried with them out of *Egypt*; and the *Iſraelites* began to journey in the Morning, and *on the* Morrow, after the Paſſover, on the fifteenth Day of the Month, they travelled from *Rameſes* to *Succoth* (*o*), about ten or twelve Miles. Here they made a Stop, reviewed their Company, and found that they were ſix hundred thouſand beſides Children (*p*).

(*l*) Exodus xii. 6. (*m*) Ver. 7. (*n*) Ver. 33.
(*o*) Numbers xxxiii. 3. (*p*) Exodus xii. 37.

In

In this manner the *Iſraelites* were brought out of *Egypt*; a Tranſaction ſo wonderful and extraordinary, that the Heathen Hiſtorians could not avoid taking ſome Notice of it. *Juſtin*, the *Epitomizer* of *Trogus Pompeius*, gives us Hints of it, in his Account of the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Nation (*q*). He tells us, that ſome time after the Birth of *Moſes*, "The *Egyptians* "had the Leproſy amongſt them; that "upon conſulting their Oracle for a Cure, "they were directed to ſend away all the "infected Perſons out of the Land, un-"der the Conduct of *Moſes*. *Moſes* un-"dertook the Command of them, and at "his leaving *Egypt* ſtole away the *Egyp-*"*tian Sacra*. The *Egyptians* purſued "them in order to recover their *Sacra*, "but were compelled by Storms to re-"turn Home again. *Moſes* in ſeven Days "paſſed the Deſart of *Arabia*, and "brought the People to *Sinai*." This Account is indeed ſhort, imperfect, and full of Miſtakes; but ſo are the Heathen Accounts of the *Jews* and their Affairs. If the Reader peruſes the whole of what *Juſtin* ſays of the *Jews*, he will ſee that his Account of them is all of a piece, and that he had made no true Inquiry into their Hiſtory; however, after all the

(*q*) Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.

Miſtakes, which either the Miſrepreſentations of the *Egyptian* Writers might cauſe, or the Careleſſneſs and want of Examination of other Hiſtorians occaſion, thus much we may conclude from *Juſtin* to be on all Hands agreed; that the *Jews* were ſent out of *Egypt* under the Conduct of *Moſes*, that the *Egyptians* might get free from Plagues inflicted upon them by the divine Hand; and that after they were diſmiſſed the *Egyptians* purſued them, but were diſappointed in their Purſuit, not by Force of Arms, but by Obſtructions from Providence, in the Direction of Storms and Weather to defeat them. *Juſtin* hints ſo many Points, that are ſo near the Truth, in the ſeveral Parts of the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, that I imagine, if due Pains had been taken to examine, he would have given a truer Account of this, and all the other Particulars which he has hinted about them, and their Affairs.

Juſtin relates, that the *Jews* at their Departure ſtole the *Egyptian Sacra*: We ſay, *they borrowed of the Egyptians Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold, and Raiment (r)*. If they borrowed them, we cannot ſay that they had any Deſign of returning them again; and therefore the Injuſtice may be thought the ſame as if they

(r) Exodus xii. 35.

ſtole

ſtole them. Some modern Writers have taken the greateſt Liberty of ridiculing this Particular, and are pleaſed in thinking that it affords them a conſiderable Objection againſt the ſacred Scriptures: For they inſinuate with more than ordinary Aſſurance, that no one can, conſiſtently with plain and common Honeſty, which all Men know too well to be deceived in, ſuppoſe God Almighty to direct, or order the *Iſraelites* to borrow in this Manner. "The Wit of the beſt Poet is not ſuffici-
"ent to reconcile us to the Retreat of a
"*Moſes* by the Aſſiſtance of an *Egyptian*
"Loan"; ſaid Lord *Shaftsbury*, amongſt other things, which he thought might bear hard againſt the Morality of the ſacred Hiſtory (*s*). Some very judicious Writers have endeavoured to juſtifie the *Iſraelites* borrowing of the *Egyptians*; but I ſhall not offer any of their Arguments, becauſe I cannot find, that the ſacred Text does in the leaſt hint, that they borrowed, or attempted to borrow any thing of them. The *Hebrew* Word which our Tranſlators have rendered *borrow* is *Shaal* (*t*), which does not ſignifie to *borrow*, but *to ask one to give*. It is the very Word uſed *Pſalm* ii. 8. [*Sheal-ve Ettenah*]

(*s*) Characteriſtics Vol. 1. p. 358. (*t*) *See both* Exodus iii. 22. and xii. 35.

Ask

Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermoſt Parts of the Earth for thy Poſſeſſion: and the Fact was this: God had told *Moſes*, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not go out of *Egypt* empty, but that every Woman ſhould *ask* her Neighbour, and the Perſon ſhe lived with, to give her Jewels and Raiment, and that he would diſpoſe the *Egyptians* to give them (*u*); and thus when they were leaving *Egypt*, the Children of *Iſrael asked* the *Egyptians* for *Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold, and Raiment, And the Lord gave the People Favour in the ſight of the Egyptians*, ſo that they gave them what they asked for, ſo freely as to impoveriſh themſelves by making Preſents to them. *Joſephus* repreſents this Fact agreeably to the true Senſe of the ſacred Text. He ſays, that the *Egyptians* [δώροις τε τὲς Ἑβραίους ἐτίμων· οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν· οἱ δ' ἢ κατὰ γειτνιακὴν πρὸς αὐτὲς συνήθειαν·] made the *Hebrews* conſiderable Preſents; and that ſome did ſo, in order to induce them to go the ſooner away from them; others out of Reſpect to, and upon Account of the Acquaintance they had had with them (*w*).

(*u*) Exodus iii. (*w*) Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 14.

The

The *Exit* of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, was four hundred and thirty Years after *Abraham*'s firſt coming into *Canaan:* Now *Abraham* came into *Canaan A. M.* 2083 (*x*), ſo that counting four hundred and thirty Years forward from that Year, we ſhall fix the *Exit A. M.* 2513, and that is the Year in which it was accompliſhed. Our *Engliſh* Tranſlators have rendred the xiith Chapter of *Exodus*, Verſe 40, very juſtly; *Now the Sojourning of the Children of Iſrael, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty Years.* The interlinear Tranſlation of the *Hebrew* Bible, and the Vulgar *Latin* Verſion, do both miſrepreſent the true Senſe of the Place, by rendring it to this Effect; *Now the inhabiting of the Children of Iſrael, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty Years.* The Children of *Iſrael* did not live in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty Years; for they came into *Egypt* with *Jacob A. M.* 2298 (*y*), and they went out of *Egypt A. M.* 2513, ſo that they lived in *Egypt* but two hundred and fifteen Years; and therefore the Sojourning of the Children of *Iſrael* muſt not be limited to their living in *Egypt*

(*x*) *See* Vol. I. Book 5. p. 275. (*y*) *See* Vol. II. Book 7. p. 211.

only, but taken in a more general Senſe, and extended to the Time of their living in *Canaan*; for the four hundred and thirty Years here mentioned, begin from *Abraham*'s firſt coming into *Canaan*. The *Samaritan* Text has the Verſe thus, *Now the Inhabiting of the Children of Iſrael, and their Fathers, whereby they inhabited in the Land of Canaan, and in the Land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty Years.* The moſt learned *Dean Prideaux* obſerves, " that the Additions herein do " manifeſtly mend the Text, and make it " more clear and intelligible, and add no- " thing to the *Hebrew* Copy, but what " muſt be underſtood by the Reader " to make out the Senſe thereof" (z); and therefore, why may we not ſuppoſe that the ancient *Hebrew* Text was in this Verſe the ſame with the preſent *Samaritan*, and that the Words, which the *Samaritan* Text now has in this Place more than the *Hebrew*, have been dropped by ſome Tranſcribers? *Joſephus* fixes the Time of the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Egypt* very exactly. He ſays, it was four hundred and thirty Years after *Abraham*'s coming into *Canaan*, and two hundred

(z) Prideaux Connect. Vol. 2. Part I. Book 6. p. 602.

and

and fifteen Years after *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt* (*a*), both which Accounts ſuppoſe it *A. M.* 2513, the Year abovementioned. If the *Paſtors* came into *Egypt A. M.* 2420, as I have ſuppoſed, then the *Exit* of the *Iſraelites* will be ninety three Years after the Beginning of the Reign of *Salatis*, who was the firſt of the *Paſtor-Kings*; and according to Sir *John Marſham*'s Table of theſe Kings, *Apachnas* was King of *Egypt* at this Time.

From the Time, that the Children of *Iſrael* were arrived at *Succoth*, to their getting over the Red Sea into *Midian*, it does not appear that *Moſes* led them one Step by his own Conduct or Contrivance. They removed from *Succoth* to *Etham*, a Town near the Border of the Wilderneſs of *Arabia*; from thence they moved back into the mountainous Parts of *Egypt*, on the Weſt Side of the Red Sea, and encamped near to *Pihahiroth*, between *Migdol* and the Sea. According to *Moſes*'s Narration of their Movements, it was in no wiſe left to his Conduct where to lead the People. *When Pharaoh had let the People go, God led them not through the way of the Land of the Philiſtins, although that was near, leſt they ſhould repent*

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 15.

when they ſaw War, and return to Egypt; but God led them about through the Way of the Wilderneſs of the Red Sea, and the Lord went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud to lead them the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light, to go by Day and Night. And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying, ſpeak unto the Children of Iſrael that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the Sea, over againſt Baalzephon, before it ſhall ye encamp by the Sea (*b*). Our very learned Countryman Sir *Walter Raleigh*, repreſents the Conduct of *Moſes* in this March of the *Iſraelites*, as in ſome meaſure the Effect of his own Prudence and Skill in the Art of War; and he gives ſome Reaſons to ſhew how *Moſes* performed in the ſeveral Stations of this March, the Part of a very able Commander. I cannot pretend to judge of the Reaſons of War ſuggeſted by him; but I ſhould imagine, that Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s great Military Skill, might lead him to draw an ingenious Scheme here for *Moſes*, where we have no Reaſon to think that *Moſes* laid any Scheme at all. It is indeed probable, that Reaſon might ſuggeſt to *Moſes*, that it could be in no wiſe proper to

(*b*) Exodus xiii. 17···22. xiv. 1, 2.

lead his People directly through *Philiſtia* to *Canaan*. His People, tho' very numerous, were a mixed Multitude, not uſed to, and altogether undiſciplined for War; and the *Philiſtines* were a ſtrong and valiant People, and could not well be thought willing to ſuffer ſix hundred thouſand Perſons to enter their Country. Diſcretion and Prudence therefore might ſuggeſt to him, that it would be more proper to lead them about by the Wilderneſs of *Arabia*, and to retire with them to *Midian*, where he was ſure he ſhould be well received by *Jethro* the Ruler there, and there to form them, for what Undertakings it might pleaſe God to deſign them; and all this may be conſiſtent with the *Hebrew* Expreſſion of God's leading them, who is often ſaid to do ſeveral Things, by permitting them to be done by the Conduct of the Perſons employed to do them. But tho' all this might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, yet, as I ſaid, the Journeying of the *Iſraelites* from *Succoth* to the Red-Sea, was evidently conducted by God's immediate Direction. For 1. If *Moſes* deſigned to carry the People to *Jethro*'s Country, he had a much nearer Way from *Etham*, through the Wilderneſs of *Sinai*, than to lead the People into the mountainous and rocky Country, on the *Egyptian* Borders of the Red-Sea, out of which he could not

expect to find any Paſſage into *Midian*, without coming back to *Etham* again. 2. As far as I am able to judge, this had been a much ſafer, as well as a much nearer Way. When *Pharaoh* heard that the People had taken this Rout, he immediately concluded that he could eaſily deſtroy them; for he ſaid, *they were entangled in the Land*, ſhut up in the rocky and unpaſſable Parts of a wild and uncultivated Country (*c*). I cannot poſſibly ſee, why *Moſes* ſhould lead them ſo much out of their Way, and into ſuch a diſadvantageous Country, but upon the View of the miraculous Deliverance which God deſigned them at the Red-Sea. But 3. It is evident, that from *Succoth* to the Red-Sea the *Iſraelites* travelled under the eſpecial Guidance of Heaven; for the Pillar of the Cloud, and of Fire, which went before them, directed them where to go. *Moſes* had no room left him to chuſe the Way, for *the Lord went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them in the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire to give them Light: to go by Day and Night. He took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by Day, nor the Pillar of Fire by Night from before the People* (*d*). *Moſes* had

(*c*) Exodus xiv. 3. (*d*) Chap. xiii. 21, 22.

only

only to obſerve the Guidance of this glorious and miraculous Direction, and to follow as that led him from *Succoth* to *Etham*, to *Pihahiroth* between *Migdol* and *Baalzephon*, and to the Sea.

After the *Iſraelites* were gone out of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh* repented of his having given them Leave to depart, eſpecially upon its being remonſtrated to him that the People *were fled* (*e*); that they were not gone a few Days Journey merely to ſerve the Lord their God, but that they deſigned never to return to him any more. The Loſs of ſo many Slaves was a very ſenſible Diminution of his Grandeur as well as Wealth, and the Manner in which they were extorted from him, inglorious both to him and his Kingdom; and the hearing, that *Moſes* had led them into a Part of the Country, where he thought it would be eaſy to diſtreſs them, made him reſolve to follow them, and to try if poſſible to redreſs his Loſſes, or revenge himſelf upon them. He therefore immediately ſummoned together his Forces, and with a numerous (*f*) Army purſued the *Iſraelites*, and overtook them at their

(*e*) Chap. xiv. 5. (*f*) Joſephus *ſays, that* Pharaoh's *Army with which he purſued the* Iſraelites, *conſiſted of* 600 *Chariots,* 50000 *Horſe, and* 200000 *Foot Soldiers.* Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. C. 15.

encamping near the Red-Sea (*g*). At the Approach of *Pharaoh*, the *Iſraelites* were afraid; they gave over their Lives for loſt, and were ready to mutiny againſt *Moſes* for bringing them out of *Egypt* (*h*): But *Moſes* exhorted the People to fear nothing, aſſuring them, that they ſhould not be expoſed to the Difficulty of a Battle, but that they ſhould *ſee the Salvation of God*; that God would give them a miraculous Deliverance, and deſtroy all the *Egyptians* that purſued them (*i*). It was Night when *Moſes* thus ſpake to them, and ſoon after He had done ſpeaking, the wonderful Appearance of the Pillar of Fire, and of the Cloud, which went before them to direct their Journey, removed and placed it ſelf between them and the *Egyptians*, with its ſhining or bright Side towards the *Iſraelites*, and with its dark or cloudy Side towards the *Egyptians*; ſo that the *Iſraelites* had Light to be moving forwards towards the Sea, and the *Egyptians* not being able ſo well to ſee their Way, could not follow ſo faſt as to get up with them (*k*). When the *Iſraelites* were come to the Sea, they made a Stop for ſome Hours. *Moſes* held

(*g*) Exodus xiv. (*h*) Ver. 11. (*i*) Ver. 13.
(*k*) Ver. 19, 20.

up

up his Hand over the Sea, and God was pleaſed by a mighty Wind to divide the Waters, and to make a ſpace of dry Ground from one ſide of the Sea to the other, for the *Iſraelites* to paſs over. Hereupon *Moſes* and *Aaron* led the Way (*l*), and the *Iſraelites* followed them into the midſt of the Sea; and the Waters ſtood on Heaps on each Side of them, and were as a Wall to them on their right Hand, and on their Left, all the Way they paſſed. The *Egyptians* came on after them, and it being Night, and they not having the Light of the Pillar, which guided the *Iſraelites*, finding themſelves upon dry Ground, all the Way they purſued, might perhaps not at all ſuſpect that they were off the Shore; for I imagine, that if they had ſeen the miraculous Heaps of Waters on each Side the *Iſraelites*, they would not ſo eagerly have ventured ſtill to preſs after a People

(*l*) *Some of the* Hebrew *Writers repreſent, that when* Moſes *had divided the Sea, the* Jews *were afraid to attempt to go over it, but that the Head of the Tribe of* Judah *led the Way. and that as a Reward for the Courage of this Tribe in this Attempt, they were appointed to march foremoſt in all the future Journeyings of the* Iſraelites; *but the* Pſalmiſt *ſeems to hint that* Moſes *and* Aaron *went before the* Iſraelites *into the Sea,* Pſalm lxxvii. *and this Fiction about the Tribe of* Judah *has no better Foundation than the numerous other Fancies of theſe Writers, one of which relating to this Paſſage over the Red-Sea is wonderfully extravagant. They ſay that God in dividing the Waters, made twelve different Paths, that each Tribe might have a Path to it ſelf; but Conceits of this ſort want no Refutation.*

ſaved

ſaved by ſo great a Miracle. When the *Iſraelites* were got ſafe on the Land over the Sea, towards Morning, *the Lord* looked from the Pillar of Fire, and of the Cloud upon the *Egyptians*, and troubled their Hoſt, *and took off their Chariot Wheels, that they drave them heavily* (*m*). The *Egyptians* began to find their Paſſage not ſo eaſy; the Waters began to come upon them, and their Chariot Wheels to ſink and ſtick faſt in the muddy Bottom of the Sea, ſo that they could get no further, and *Moſes* at the Command of God ſtretched forth his Hand over the Sea; the *Egyptians* began now at Day-break to ſee where they were, and to fear their Ruin, they turned back as faſt as they could, and endeavoured to get back to Shore; but the Waters came upon them in their full Strength, and overwhelmed them. And thus *Pharaoh* and his whole Army were loſt in the Red-Sea.

Some Writers have imagined, that there might be no real Miracle in this Paſſage of the *Iſraelites* over the Red-Sea. *Moſes* was a great Maſter of all Science and Learning, and had lived in *Midian*, a Country near the Borders of this Sea, forty Years. He had had Time and Abilities, whilſt he kept the Flocks of *Jethro* in this Country,

(*m*) Exodus xiv. 25.

to

to obſerve with great Accuracy the Ebb and Flow of it. The Red-Sea at its Northern End divides it ſelf into two Branches, one of which, namely that over which *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites*, from *Toro*, where the two Arms divide, up to the Shore upon the Wilderneſs of *Etham* is about thirty Leagues or ninety Miles in Length: At *Toro* this Sea is about three Leagues or nine Miles over, and it continues of much about the ſame Breadth for twenty Six Leagues or ſeventy eight Miles upwards, from thence for about two Leagues it is three Miles over, and ſo it continues up to the Land's End for about ſix Miles, three or four Miles over all the Way. The adjacent Places, *Migdol*, *Pihahiroth*, and *Baalzephon*, direct us where-abouts the *Iſraelites* paſſed over this Sea, namely over this narrow Arm, and not above ſix Miles from the Land's End; and it may be ſaid, that the Flux and Reflux of the Sea may perhaps cover, and leave dry every Tide a Tract of Land, from the Place where *Moſes* paſſed over the *Iſraelites*, up to the Wilderneſs of *Etham*, as the Ebb and Flow of the Sea does all the Waſh, on the Borders of *Lincolnſhire* in our Country; and if ſo, *Moſes* might eaſily by his Knowledge of the Tides, contrive to lead the People round about amongſt the Mountains, ſo as to bring them to the Sea, and paſs them over at low Water;

Water; and the *Egyptians*, who purſuing them came later, might at firſt enter the Waſh ſafely as they did, but at Midway, they might find the Waters in their Flow, looſening the Sands, and preventing their going further. Hereupon they turned back, but it was too late; for the Flood came to its Height before they could reach the Shore. *Artapanus* in *Euſebius* (*n*) informs us, that the Inhabitants of *Memphis* related this Tranſaction in this Manner: And it may perhaps be thought that *Joſephus* favoured this Account, and therefore compared the Paſſage of the *Iſraelites* over the Red-Sea, to *Alexander*'s over the Sea of *Pamphylia* (*o*). I have given this Cavil all the Weight and Strength it can be capable of, let us now ſee how it may be refuted. And I would obſerve,

I. That the Paſſage of *Alexander the Great* over the Sea of *Pamphylia*, bears no manner of Reſemblance to this of the *Iſraelites* over the Red-Sea. *Alexander* was to march from *Phaſelis*, a Sea Port, to *Perga*, an Inland City of *Pamphylia*. The

(*n*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 27. Artapanus's *Words are* Μεμφίτας μὲν λέγειν, ἔμπεσον ὄνλα τὸν Μώϋσον ἐ χώρας τῷ ἄμπωτιν τηρήσανλα διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐ θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος περαιῶσαι.

(*o*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 16.

Country

Country near *Phaſelis* upon the Shore of the *Pamphylian* Sea was mountainous and rocky, and he could not find a Paſſage for his Army without taking a great Compaſs round the Mountains, or attempting to go over the Strand between the Rocks and the Sea. *Arrian* obſerves, that there was no paſſing here, unleſs when the Wind blew from the North (*p*). A Wind from this Quarter, was ſo directed as to keep back the Tide from flowing ſo far up the Shore as the Southern Winds would drive it; and therefore *Alexander* perceiving juſt at this Juncture, that there was a violent North Wind, laid hold of the Opportunity, and ſent ſome of his Army over the Mountains, but went himſelf with the reſt of his Forces along the Shore. It is evident that there was no Miracle, unleſs we call the Wind's blowing opportunely for *Alexander*'s Purpoſe a Miracle; and *Plutarch* juſtly remarks, that *Alexander* himſelf thought, there was nothing extraordinary in this his Paſſage (*q*); and it was certainly very injudicious in *Joſephus*, to ſeem to compare this Paſſage to that of the *Iſraelites*, when they are not in any one Reſpect like to one another. The *Iſraelites* croſſed over a

(*p*) Arrian. de Exped. Alex. lib. 1. p. 674.

(*q*) Plut. in Alexand.

Sea,

Sea, where no Hiſtorian ever mentions any Perſons but they, to have ever found a Paſſage. *Alexander* only marched upon the Shore of the Sea of *Pamphylia*, where the Hiſtorians, who moſt magnified the Providence that protected him, do allow, that any one may go at any Time when the ſame Wind blows, which favoured him. It does not appear from any Hiſtorian, that the Red Sea ebbs backward as far as where the *Iſraelites* paſſed over, ſo as to leave a large Tract of Sand dry in the Receſs of every Tide ſix or ſeven Miles in Length, and three or four Miles Over. No one but the *Iſraelites* ever travelled over dry Land in this Place, and therefore undoubtedly, here is no dry Land, unleſs when God by an extraordinary Miracle was pleaſed to make it ſo.

But, II. If the Paſſage of *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* over the Red Sea, was upon a Receſs of the Tide, then all the Particulars in *Moſes*'s Account of this Affair are Falſe. 1. There needed no Cloud and Pillar of Fire to direct the Journey of the *Iſraelites* to the Red Sea; for they were upon this Suppoſition conducted thither by the Contrivance of *Moſes*, who thought, that by his Skill in the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, He could better eſcape from *Pharaoh* there, than in any other Place.

Place. 2. *Moſes* repreſents, that the Waters were divided and ſtood on Heaps on both ſides of the *Iſraelites*, and were a *Wall to them on their right Hand and on their Left*; but this could not be true if here was only an Ebb or Reflux of the Tide. For if the Tide was driven back by the ſtrongeſt Wind, the Waters could ſtand on Heaps on one ſide only, namely to Sea; the Land ſide would be intirely drained, the Water being driven by the Wind down the Channel. 3. *Moſes* repreſents, that God cauſed a ſtrong Eaſt Wind to blow in order to divide the Waters, and this indeed is a proper Wind, to have by God Almighty's Direction ſuch an Effect as he aſcribes to it; but if a Reflux of the Tide had been the only Thing here cauſed, an Eaſt Wind had not been proper to cauſe it. The Red Sea runs up from the Ocean towards the North-Weſt, and therefore a North, or North-Weſt Wind would have had the only proper Direction to have driven back the Tide, if that had been what was done in this Matter. An Eaſt Wind blows croſs this Sea, and the Effect of it muſt be to drive the Waters partly up to the Lands End, and partly down to the Ocean, ſo as to divide the Waters as *Moſes* relates, and not to cauſe a great Ebb of Tide, and the blowing of ſuch a Wind as this, with a Force

Force ſufficient to cauſe ſo extraordinary an Effect for the opening the *Iſraelites* ſo unexpected and unheard-of a Paſſage thro' the midſt of a Sea, muſt be looked upon as a miraculous Interpoſition of God's Power for their Preſervation.

III. As to what *Artapanus* ſuggeſts, that the *Egyptians* who lived at *Memphis* related, that *Moſes* conducted the *Iſraelites* over the Red Sea, by his Skill in the Tides, there is no Regard due to this Fiction, eſpecially if we conſider, that the wiſe and learned Part of the *Egyptians* rejected it. For the ſame Author teſtifies (*r*), that

(*r*) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. ubi ſup. *The Words are:* Ἡλιοπολίτας δὲ λέγειν, ἐπικαταδεδραμεῖν τὸν Βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἅμα καὶ τοῖς καθιερωμένοις ζώοις, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὕπαρξιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χρησαμένης διανομίζειν· τῷ δὲ Μωϋσῇ θείαν φωνὴν γενέσθαι, πατάξαι τὴν θάλασσαν τῇ ῥάβδῳ· τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἀκέσαντα, ἐπιδίδειν τῇ ῥάβδῳ τὸ ὕδατος, καὶ ἕτω τὸ μὲν νᾶμα διασῆναι, τὴν δὲ διώκουσαν [*ſome Word, perhaps* παρέχειν, *ſeems here to be omitted in the Text*] διὰ ξηρᾶς ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι. συνεμβάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ διωκόντων, φησὶ πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκλάμψαι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν πάλιν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπικλῦσαι· τοὺς δὲ Αἰγυπτίους ὑπό τε τῆς πυρὸς, καὶ τῆς πλημμυρούσης πάντας διαφθαρῆναι· *This Account of the* Memphites *is remarkably agreeable to* Moſes's. *It indeed hints, that there were ſome Lightnings, which* Moſes *has not expreſly mentioned, but perhaps it may be conjectured from* Pſalm lxxvii. 16—20. *that there were Lightnings contributing to the Overthrow of the* Egyptians

that the Prieſts of *Heliopolis* related the Affair quite otherwiſe. Their Account agrees with that of *Moſes*: The *Heliopolitans* were always eſteemed to be the wiſeſt and moſt learned of all the *Egyptians* (*s*); and if *Moſes*'s Authority, or the faithfulneſs of his Narration could be queſtioned, this Agreement of the *Heliopolitans* with him, would be of far more Weight with all reaſonable Enquirers to confirm his Account, than what is ſuggeſted from the *Memphites* can be of to impair the Credit of it.

We have brought the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, over the Red Sea into the Wilderneſs, the Period which I deſigned for this Volume. The Reader cannot but obſerve from the whole of it, that from the Creation to this Time, God had been pleaſed in ſundry Manners to reveal himſelf to Mankind, in order to plant his true Religion in the World; and yet notwithſtanding all that had been done, this Religion was at this Time well nigh periſhed from off the Face of the Earth. Every Nation under Heaven, that were of Eminence or Figure, were loſt to all Senſe of the true God, and were far gone into the Errors

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ans *in the Red Sea, and very probably there were anciently many true Relations of this Fact, beſides that of* Moſes, *from ſome of which the* Memphites *might deduce their Narration.*

(*s*) Herodotus Lib. 2. c. 3.

of Idolatry. The Apoſtle ſeems to hint, that the ~~firſt~~ Defection was cauſed, by their not *liking to retain God in their Knowledge* (*t*). But why ſhould Men not like to retain the Knowledge of God! I can think of no ſufficient Anſwer to this Queſtion, ſuitable to the Circumſtances of theſe Ages, unleſs I may offer what follows. God had given exceeding great Promiſes to *Abraham* and his Poſterity; that he would *make of him a great Nation*; *make his Name great*, and that in him, or *in his Seed all the Families of the Earth ſhould be bleſſed* (*u*); that he would *give him northward and ſouthward, eaſtward and weſtward all the Land, which he then ſaw in the Length and in the Breadth of it, from the River Euphrates unto the River of Egypt* (*w*); That he would make him *a Father of many Nations*, that he would *raiſe Nations from him*, and that *Kings ſhould come out of him* (*x*). God protected him, where-ever he lived, in ſo ſignal a manner, that whenever he was in Danger of ſuffering Injury, his Adverſaries were prevented from hurting him (*y*). His Son *Iſhmael* was to be made a Nation, becauſe he was *his* Seed (*z*); nay, twelve Princes were to deſcend from him (*a*),

(*t*) Rom. i. 28. (*u*) Gen. xii. (*w*) Chap. xiii. 14, 15, 16, 17. & xv. 18. (*x*) Gen. xvii. 4, 5, 6. (*y*) Gen. xx. 3. (*z*) Gen. xxi. 13. (*a*) Chap. xvii. 20.

and

and the Seed of *Abraham* was to *poſſeſs the Gate of his Enemies* (*b*). Moſt of theſe Promiſes were repeated to *Iſaac* (*c*), and afterwards to *Jacob* (*d*), and the remarkable Favours deſigned this Family, were not beſtowed upon them in private, ſo as to be little known to the World; but *when they were but a few, even a few, and Strangers in the Land* where they ſojourned, *they went from Nation to Nation, and from one Kingdom to another People, and God ſuffered no Man to do them wrong, but reproved even Kings for their Sakes* (*e*). The Name of *Abraham* was eminently famous in moſt Nations of the then inhabited World; and I cannot but think it probable, that the Kings of many Countries might greatly miſtake the Deſign of God to him and his Deſcendants, as the *Jews* themſelves afterwards did, when they came to have a nearer Expectation of their *Meſſiah*, and imagined that He was to be a mighty temporal Prince to ſubdue all their Enemies. In this manner the early Kings might miſinterpret the Promiſes to *Abraham*, and think that in Time his Deſcendants were to cover the Face of the Earth, and to be the Governors of all Nations. I cannot ſay

(*b*) Chap. xxii. 17. (*c*) Chap. xxvi. 4. & 24.
(*d*) Chap. xxviii. 13, 14, 15. (*e*) Pſalm. cv. 12, 13, 14.

whether the *Hittites* might not in ſome meaſure be of this Opinion, when they ſtyled *Abraham* [*Neſi Elohim*] (*f*), Βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ ſay the LXX, *i. e. a Prince from or appointed by God*; and perhaps *Abimelech* might apprehend that *Abraham*'s Poſterity would in Time become the Poſſeſſors of his Country; and being willing to put off the Evil for at leaſt three Generations, he made a League with him, and obtained a Promiſe, that he would not afflict his People, during his Time, nor in the Days of his Son, or his Son's Son (*g*). Thus the Promiſes, and the Propheſies to *Abraham* and his Children, might be thought to run contrary to the Views and Intereſts of the Kings and Heads of Nations; and they might therefore think it good Policy to divert their People from attending too much to them: And for this End, they being in their Kingdoms the chief Directors in Religion, they might, upon the Foundation of Litterature, and human Science, form ſuch Schemes of Augury, Aſtrology, Vaticination, Omens, Prodigies and Inchantments, as the Magicians of *Egypt* became famous for, in order to make Religion more ſubſervient to their Intereſts; and in theſe they proceeded from one Step to an-

(*f*) Gen. xxiii. 6. (*g*) Chap. xxi. 23.

other,

other, in what they undoubtedly thought to be the Reſult of rational Inquiry; until in *Moſes*'s Time the Rulers of the *Egyptian* Nation, who were then the moſt learned Body in the World, *beguiled by the Deceit of vain Philoſophy*, and too *politically* engaged to attend duly to any Arguments that might convince them of their Errors, were arrived at ſo intrepid an Infidelity, that the greateſt Miracles had no Effect upon them. I am ſenſible that theſe Points have been ſet in a different Light by ſome Writers, but perhaps there may be Reaſon to re-examine them. The Pagan Divinations, Arts of Propheſy, and all their Sorceries and Inchantments, as well as their Idolatry and Worſhip of falſe Gods were founded, not upon Superſtition, but upon Learning and philoſophical Study; not upon too great a Belief of and Adherence to Revelation, but upon a pretended Knowledge of the Powers of Nature. Their great and learned Men erred in theſe Points, not for want of *Free-thinking*, ſuch as they called ſo; but their Opinions upon theſe Subjects were in direct Oppoſition to the true Revelations which had been made to the World, and might be called the *Deiſm* of theſe Ages; for ſuch certainly was the Religion of the governing and learned Part of the Heathen World in theſe Times. The unlearned Populace indeed in all Kingdoms

adhered, as they thought, to Revelation; but they were impoſed upon, and received the political Inſtitutions of their Rulers, invented by the Aſſiſtance of Art and Learning, inſtead of the Dictates of true Revelation. In this Manner I could account for the Beginning of the Heathen Idolatries. They took their firſt Riſe from the Governors of Kingdoms having too great a Dependance upon humane Learning, and entertaining a Conceit, that what they thought to be the Religion, which Nature dictated, would free them from ſome imaginary Subjections, which they apprehended revealed Religion to be calculated to bring them under. Length of Time, Advance of *Science falſely* ſo called, and political Views, had carried on theſe Errors to a great Height, when God was pleaſed in a moſt miraculous manner to deliver his People from the *Egyptian* Bondage; to re-eſtabliſh true Religion amongſt them, and to put the Prieſthood into different Hands, from thoſe which had hitherto been appointed to exerciſe the Offices of it. But the purſuing theſe Subjects, muſt belong to the ſubſequent Parts of this Undertaking.

The End of the Second Volume.

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